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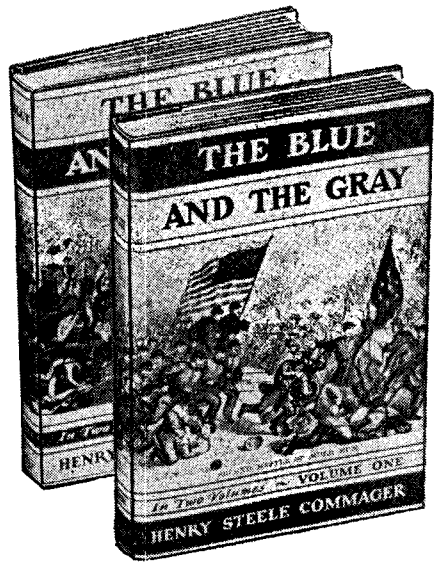

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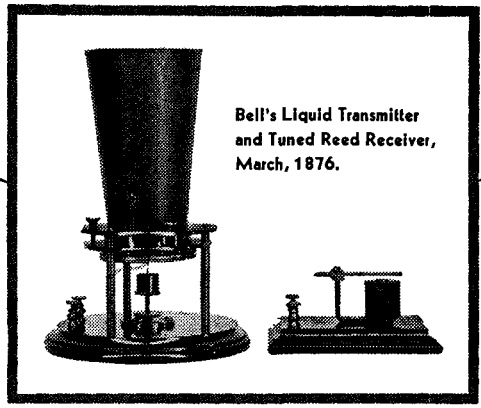

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Security and Liberty

LAURENCE SEARS

THE DOMINANT FACT about America at the mid-century point is our search for security in a world that seems to hold little but threats. We are a frightened people. Obviously this is related to our deep mistrust of the Soviet Union. In 1945 there were hopes on the part of many that the two great nations might live together in peace. That hope has been largely dissipated, and it is not likely that the people of the United States will ever again trust the dictators of Russia. The invasion of Southern Korea is only the latest incident of a series of aggressions that seems to bring World War III terrifyingly near.

This search for security is inevitably translated into the domestic scene, for it is idle to think that we can separate the situation abroad from that at home. The Compton Report, issued three years ago, pointed out that if the United States were to be attacked, it was reasonable to assume that there would be a preliminary period in which subversive agents would endeavor to sap the morale and strength of this country. Subversive agents would utilize domestic allies and operate through "front" organizations for the purpose of espionage and sabotage. In other words, there are two sources of danger. On the one hand there is the external power of the Soviet Union. On the other hand there are some of our own citizens who would succumb to the appeal of the Soviet Union, providing us with

✪ LAURENCE SEARS, professor of American philosophy and political theory at Mills College, has for the past two years been part-time visiting professor at the University of California. Professor Sears is the author of *Responsibility* (1932) and co-author, with Walter Muelder, of *The Development of American Philosophy* (1941). One of his articles appeared in the Autumn, 1949, number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

A few lines in this article are quoted from a letter which appeared last spring in the public press, and which was written by the author and signed by a number of residents of California.

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a larger group of traitors than we had ever known before, and requiring us to fight at one and the same time abroad and at home. That this is a real danger seems clear to most Americans, and we have reacted not merely by preparation for war but by a variety of security measures.

Recently, however, there have been those who have been warning us that there is still another danger, one arising from the very means by which we are seeking security at home. The Committee for Economic Development in a very impressive report pointed out that "security measures, uncurbed by the requirements of freedom, can undermine our free institutions" and Mr. Justice Jackson in a minority decision in the Supreme Court warned that "security is like liberty in that many are the crimes committed in its name." If it is true that most Americans are conscious of the need of security measures because they see clearly what is involved in the Russian method of infiltration, it is also true that there is an increasing number who are asking whether our retort to this threat may not be endangering certain of the values of American life which we are not willing to lose. More specifically, there is fear that we are losing two of the basic rights we have long cherished—the right of dissent and the right to a fair trial. Certainly these rights now seem more seriously challenged than at any time in the past 150 years. We are determined to be secure; can we at the same time keep these traditional American liberties?

All too often in recent months we have seen examples of men labeling those with whom they disagreed Communists or Fascists when the evidence for such serious charges has been lacking. Loyalty Oaths are being required of vast numbers of our citizens who have never laid themselves open to any justified suspicion of treason. Investigations are being launched against millions of men and women whose loyalty has never been questioned. To the fear of Russia has been added for many an American the fear lest his livelihood and his reputation will be put in jeopardy, not because he is in any sense a convert to communism, but because he has had legitimate differences with others regarding the policies of our government. The controversy over China is an illustration in point. It may or may not have been wise to have aided Chiang Kai-shek. Possibly

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we should have gone all out to defeat the Chinese Communists. Those are areas where real differences of opinion have existed and where no man has the final truth. But the incredible thing is that those differences have been translated into irresponsible charges against men who have all too often been relatively defenseless, as well as innocent of any faint trace of treason. It is of the very essence of democracy to recognize that men have the right to dissent from the policy and principles of others, and that they have the right to make that dissent effective. Mr. Justice Holmes put this clearly when he said "If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other, it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought we hate."

Another basic right which goes far back into the Anglo-Saxon tradition is the right to a fair trial. For many hundreds of years we have honored the principle laid down in the Magna Charta that "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, or commit him to prison, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or unless by the law of the land. . . ." In the perspective of the centuries we have been proud that there have been incidents in our history like that of Peter Zenger—a humble printer of New York who in 1734 was brought to trial for having criticized the representative of the Crown. Andrew Hamilton, an eighty-year-old American attorney, came to his defense with words which are a living part of our inheritance. "The loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than Death . . . the man who loves his country prefers its liberty to all other Considerations, well knowing that without Liberty, life is a Misery. . . ." It was not surprising that he was acquitted by a jury of his peers, who were determined that even a humble citizen who had criticized his government should have the right of dissent and the right to a fair trial when that dissent was called in question. Even more startling was the case following the Boston massacre. A snowballing of the British degenerated into what appeared to be a mob attack. Someone gave the order to fire, and four Americans were killed. Eight British soldiers, including Captain Preston, were brought to trial in an American court on the charge of murder. Feelings were running very high in

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Boston. Yet, in the face of this, two Americans who had more than demonstrated their patriotism came to Preston's defense in his trial—not because they were in sympathy with the British, but because they believed that all men have the right to a just trial. Josiah Quincy and John Adams defended him, were responsible for his acquittal, and later got an acquittal for the soldiers. Obviously, that jury of Americans agreed with John Adams when he said, "I grant it as a first principle that the eight prisoners at the bar had better all be acquitted, though we should admit them all to be guilty, than that any one of them should by your verdict be found guilty, being innocent." So deeply are these principles imbedded in our tradition that we have come to identify democracy with the right of dissent and the right to a fair trial. Yet it is these very rights which seem to be endangered today as we meet on the domestic scene the threat from Russia.

Perhaps it would be well for us to see what the evidence is as to the extent of subversive activities in this country. The latest report available indicates a loyalty check has been made of 3 million government employees and applicants for government jobs since 1947. Out of that total, questions were raised about 11,619 persons. A full field investigation was made by the F.B.I. on those individuals. Evidence that warranted study was found on 7,342. Their records were turned over to the loyalty boards of the affected agencies for appraisal. Out of that total, 6,910 convinced the loyalty boards that they were innocent of the charges raised. Of the 432 originally found ineligible for employment, 182 employees and applicants actually were dismissed or finally barred. On appeal and the presentation of new evidence. 124 of the 432 were restored to the eligible lists. The remainder, 126 cases, are in various stages of reconsideration. The F.B.I. has turned up evidence of treason against eight men and women. But Mr. Seth Richardson (a Republican) who is chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, testified recently before a Senate subcommittee that loyalty investigations had not produced "one single case" of espionage, or turned up any evidence "directing toward espionage."

To have had subversive Americans operating within our government is altogether tragic, and to have discovered them is certainly fortunate. That is a definite gain, but has there been anything lost in this process?

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It might be wise to look at a number of specific incidents which will illustrate the procedure and perhaps high-light the dangers. We might start with a case which, at least to those who were not involved, seems nothing short of farcical. The Whaley Eaton News Service for July 3, 1948, carried the report of two scientists who applied for jobs at Brookhaven. X was accepted after a security check-up, receiving the highest possible classification. Y was rejected, no explanation being given. Lengthy investigation of Y's case eventually revealed that the main ground of his rejection was his close friendship for X.

A second case involves the notorious Judith Coplon, who has been twice convicted on charges of espionage. I am not raising the question of her guilt—that would seem to have been established—but merely some of the procedures involved. Much of the evidence against her came from some F.B.I. data slips, found in her purse, which the prosecution charged she had taken from her desk in the Justice Department to give to a Russian agent. The federal judge ruled that the prosecution would have to show the jury not only all the slips but also the F.B.I. reports to which they referred. Much of the information was obviously gossip and hearsay, and there was no assessment of the informant's reliability. Nevertheless, many public figures whose loyalty has never been questioned were branded as Communist sympathizers. *Time* magazine summarized the results when it said that "Judy's purse had become a symbol of the evil lurking in the kind of over-zealous snooping, gossip, and talebearing which seemed to be one price of national security." That sentence phrases the problem which we are facing. What is the price of national security?

The third case seems far more tragic and unnecessary. About two years ago a distinguished public servant, Laurence Duggan, who had been a member of the State Department and left it to become head of the Institute of International Education, was found dead on the pavement beneath the window of the sixteenth story of the New York building in which he had had his office. No one has ever known the cause—whether he fell or jumped or was thrown must remain a mystery. Yet Congressman Mundt of the Un-American Activities Committee announced that Duggan was on the list of State Depart-

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ment suspects and added, "We will give out the other names as they jump out of windows." Is this sort of thing a part of the necessary price of security?

Still another case is that of Dr. Edward Condon, who was suddenly characterized by the Un-American Activities Committee as "one of the weakest links in our atomic security." Dr. Condon was never told what the basis of the charge was and cannot find out. Though he demanded a hearing in which he might demonstrate his innocence, it was never granted. Many months later, one member of the Committee did state that he thought Dr. Condon should have been heard by the Committee before any statement about him was made public. That was the nearest thing to redress that he ever got for all the public humiliation he suffered.

The latest and most dramatic incident of its time centered around the now notorious Senator McCarthy. On February 11 he declared that he had in his hand a list of 205 members of the State Department who were active members of the Communist party and participants in a spy ring. A few days later he declared that he had the names of 57. On February 20, he stated that there were approximately 81 cases, and at the same time he declared, "I will not say on the Senate floor that which I will not say off the floor. On the day when I take advantage of the security we have on the Senate floor, on that day I will resign from the Senate." On March 8 he gave the name of a New York attorney, Dorothy Kenyon, who had served on a United Nations Commission as a representative of the United States, and that of Ambassador-at-Large Philip Jessup. McCarthy declared that the latter had an "unusual affinity for Communist causes." On March 13 he gave eight more names, including Owen Lattimore, John Service, Esther Brunauer, and Haldore Hansen. All of these people categorically denied the charges and challenged the Senator to make good his promise and repeat the charges without Congressional immunity, promising to sue him for libel if he did so. Senator McCarthy refused, but did not resign from the Senate. On March 20, Generals George C. Marshall and Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote letters to the Committee deploring the attack on Jessup and calling him a loyal citizen. Senator McCarthy's retort was that General Marshall had been "completely unfitted for the job of Secretary of State" and added it was "a

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pathetic thing, nothing short of a crime, to put him in that position." Once again the question is raised as to whether this is the sort of thing that is the necessary price of our security?

One further case may be cited, that of Miss Dorothy Bailey, who had been dismissed from government service with the statement that there were reasonable grounds for believing that she was disloyal. The case came before the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and in his opinion Judge Edgerton brings the whole issue into focus. Pointing to the record in the case, he declared that "without trial by jury, without evidence, and without even being allowed to confront her accusers or to know their identity, a citizen of the United States has been found disloyal to the government of the United States. No charges were served on Appellant. The Chairman of the Regional Board said 'nobody has presented any charges.' . . . there is only the unsworn report in the secret files to the effect that unsworn statements of a general sort, purporting to connect Appellant with communism, had been made by unnamed persons."

Here are a few of the many cases which have raised questions about the rights of individuals in the present situation, and which have caused so many Americans to wonder whether the way in which we are facing the Russian threat may not be endangering the very things which we have most wanted to protect.

We are rightly concerned with security. Must we give up our devotion to liberty? If not, we shall have to face bluntly some of the implications of our present procedure. In the first place, we shall have to re-examine the whole principle of guilt by association, by which people are judged, not by the things that they have done, but by the associations which they have kept. That principle has long been repudiated in Anglo-Saxon tradition. The courts have insisted that proof be shown of an individual's specific guilt. It is significant that in the Nuremberg trials the principle was rejected. Mere membership in Nazi organizations was not there accepted as proof of war guilt without evidence showing that the individuals participated. Yet we are today carrying on much of our investigation on the assumption that men are to be condemned by the company they have kept, even in the absence of any guilty acts. Perhaps in this crisis it is neces-

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sary for us to throw overboard our long experience and deeply entrenched convictions—yet it may also be wise for us to remind ourselves of the statement of Mr. Justice Hughes, who declared that "it is the essence of the institutions of liberty that it be recognized that guilt is personal and cannot be attributed to the holding of opinion or to mere intent in the absence of overt acts."

In the second place, we need to re-examine the whole question of secrecy as it involves charges of treason and disloyalty. A recent case taken through to the Supreme Court illustrates both the problem and and the dangers at this point. A German girl, Ellen Knauff, married an American G.I. Under the provisions of the Bill permitting the wives of American soldiers to enter this country, she sailed for America. She was held at Ellis Island on charges which were never revealed to her. Presumably the Attorney General had some information which he regarded as making it unwise to permit her entrance. But what it was he refused to disclose, and she was barred merely on the ground that she would not be a loyal American citizen. The case finally went through to the Supreme Court. In the dissenting opinion which Mr. Justice Jackson wrote in that case he made clear the issues that were involved. "The menace to the security of this country, be it great as it may, from this girl's admission is as nothing compared to the menace inherent in procedures of this pattern. In the name of security the police state justifies its arbitrary oppressions on evidence that is secret, because security might be prejudiced if it were brought to light in hearings. The plea that evidence of guilt must be secret is abhorrent to free men, because it provides a cloak for the malevolent, the misinformed, the meddlesome and the corrupt to play the role of informer undetected and uncorrected."

A third issue that needs to be faced is the lack of constitutional safeguards for Federal employees. The present loyalty program is based upon the premise that Federal employes have no constitutional protection. The Board is legally correct when it states that no person has an inherent or constitutional right to public employment since that is a privilege and not a right. Technically the government may be "entitled to discharge any employee for reasons which seem sufficient to the government, and without extending to such employee any hearing whatsoever." But is that in the larger sense just to the em-

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ployees? And is the letter of the law necessary in a time when dismissal means not only the implication of treason, destroying the possibility of livelihood, but puts the reputation of a civil servant at the mercy not only of a mistaken informer, but also of persons who may be malicious or even demented? Will that procedure give to civil servants that sense of security which is necessary if we are to attract the best we have into the employ of the government? Is it in line with the tradition in the civil service as expressed in a rule promulgated more than sixty years ago, that "no question in any . . . proceeding . . . shall call for the expression or disclosure of any political opinion or affiliation"?

In the fourth place, we are forced to re-evaluate what rights anyone accused should have before an investigating committee or a loyalty review board. Would it shake the pillars of our security if every man and woman accused should be given a bill of particular accusations, have the right to subpoena witnesses and documents when genuine security considerations permit, the right to be represented by counsel, the right to a stenographic report of proceedings, the right to a written decision, and the right of appeal? Some years ago, in the Lovett Case, the Supreme Court declared that "those who wrote our constitution . . . intended to safeguard the people of this country from punishment without trial by duly constituted courts. And even the courts to which this important function was entrusted were commanded to stay their hands unless certain tested safeguards were observed. . . . When our Constitution and Bill of Rights were written, our ancestors had ample reason to know that legislative trials and punishments were too dangerous to liberty to exist in the nation of free men they envisioned."

A final aspect of our present approach which needs re-examination is the whole question of congressional immunity by which members of Congress are free to slander anyone without being held responsible. Legal immunity seems necessary if our officials are not to be handicapped by threats of continual court action. Yet it is intolerable that citizens should be terrorized without hope of redress. The only solution seems to be for Congress to lay down its own rules of procedure, and hold its members responsible for any behavior that denies the right of men to a fair trial.

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There have been many incidents in the past two years which have caused us to question whether trial by press, conviction by slander, and guilt by association are necessary prices of national security. But the events of this last Spring have convinced many that this is precisely the price we are paying. When a man of the stature of Professor Jessup can be irresponsibly slandered, there seems little left of the things which we in the Anglo-Saxon tradition have valued. Senator Margaret Chase Smith spoke clearly and courageously when she said that the Senate "has too often been debased to a level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of Congressional immunity." Professor Jessup was charged with the most serious crime a citizen can commit. Yet he does not know and cannot find out the evidence on which the charge was made. Trial by jury with ordinary legal safeguards was out. Guilt was assumed without the possibility of establishing innocence, and libel was legalized under the cloak of patriotism.

The basic question we face is whether we can afford democracy in times of crisis or whether it is a luxury to be enjoyed only when there is little fear and tension. We are under few illusions as to the answer which both the Communists and Fascists would give. For them there is only contempt for representative government; sure of the ends which they are seeking, they are willing to use any means for their achievement. Rights of individuals and minorities are non-existent. The police state would destroy the very freedoms it demands. That this is the denial of the democratic way needs no evidence. The only issue is whether or not there is any other means by which we can face this crisis than to adopt the methods of the Garrison State. That is the phrase used by Professor Laswell, and he defines it as that type of government where power is placed in the hands of the specialists in violence. In such a state everything is devoted to military preparation. The soldier and the policeman come into increasing power while all the civil institutions shrink into comparative impotence. In the search for security public information is denied and public discussion disappears. Free enterprise is circumscribed, and all the freedoms that men have valued tend to disappear. We comfort ourselves with the feeling that there is no danger of this in America. But is that not precisely the direction in which we have been moving as we have limited

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the right of men to dissent and have taken from them the protections against irresponsible attacks? Senator Hickenlooper has only carried this process to its logical conclusion when he said that care must be taken to see to it that people are not employed by the government "who potentially may have subversive or otherwise undesirable views," and he added that we cannot trust the ferreting out of such people to any official of the government. It should be done by "experts in the field of subversive activities." In other words, men are not to be judged by juries—they are to be judged presumably by civil police whose job heretofore has been confined to the gathering of information—not to passing of judgment as to its validity, let alone to the assessing of punishment. Senator Hickenlooper summed this position up with startling clarity when he said that the rights of the individual must give way to the "overriding rights of the whole public." That *is* the Garrison State.

No wonder, with a public official advocating such drastic measures that the Committee on Economic Development should declare that "the requirements of security and the fear and hysteria generated by the threats to our security require constant vigilance to protect our individual liberties. We must maintain the safeguards to individual liberty. Agencies with power to investigate sometimes degenerate into organs of oppression and intimidation. . . . [They] can deteriorate into witch hunts which threaten the whole structure of individual freedom."

We may well be reminded of the warning of Edward Livingstone at the time of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1800. "Do not let us be told that we are to excite a fervor against a foreign aggression to establish a tyranny at home." It has long been a truism that one of the grave dangers any nation faces when it is at war is that it may become like the enemy it fears. We are fighting the power of Russia and her satellites. But we are also opposing a philosophy which denies to men certain "unalienable rights." The crucial issue we face is whether in the attempt to keep ourselves secure as a nation we shall take over the methods and adopt the morality of the totalitarian powers, stifle dissent, and deal with our citizens after the fashion of all police states.

If our enemies from without can lure us into abandoning our love of liberty, can convince us that democracy is merely a fair-weather

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luxury, then indeed they have planted their Trojan horse within the walls, and we have no effective means left by which we can fight, nor, in fact, is there anything left worth fighting for.

We have suggested that in the search for security we were losing our rights, but it is high time that we went on to ask whether we are even gaining security. George Kennan of the State Department has recently warned us that the atmosphere in Washington is rapidly reaching the point where few sensitive and gifted men will continue in government service. The present procedure drives good men from government employ at a time when we need the best there are. It creates a feeling of panic at a time when sense and sanity are needed. It weakens our representatives abroad and puts enormous propaganda power in the hands of the Russians. No one questions but that the latter fish in troubled waters, but it does seem stupid to furnish them with the bait. The Kremlin must be watching our loss of confidence in our leaders and our institutions, and the breakdown of our morale, with gratitude and glee.

Furthermore, this kind of procedure does not accomplish the specific job of locating possible subversives. Mr. Henry Stimson, shortly before his death, pointed out that indiscriminate accusations are doubly offensive, since they not only damage the innocent but also protect the guilty. The price of security is too high when it destroys the very things we would preserve; it is intolerable when it does not even bring security.

The hour is very late, but not so late but that we must ask the question as to whether we would be the weaker if we were to maintain the right of men to differ and to make their differences known without fear. We would be far more likely to have an informed and participating people believing in themselves and in their way of life, drawing into the government the very best, and committed to ends which have always inspired men to fight to the limit of their abilities. Why have we valued our Bill of Rights if it has not been because, as Mr. Justice Brandeis said, we know "that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; and that hate menaces stable government"; because we believe that the loyalty that gives strength is built on passionate belief in goals *worth* fighting for.

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It is hard to believe that we are more insecure because we still believe in our Bill of Rights. Years ago we repudiated the slogan, "Peace at any price"—in part because we discovered it did not even bring peace. So, too, with security at any price; it will mean the destruction even of our security, for in our liberties lies our strength.

Over the years there have been things for which we have fought, and they have made us great. What if they are forgotten? What if we forget that it is free men who are brave men; that it is justice which is the ultimate shield against aggression; that the hope of the future lies in the hands of those who fight for the inalienable rights of man.

There are certain words
Our own and others we're used to—words we've used,
Heard, had to recite, forgotten. . . .
Liberty, equality, fraternity.

I am merely saying—what if these words pass?
What if they pass and are gone and are no more,

They were bought with belief and passion, at great cost.
They were bought with the bitter and anonymous blood
Of farmers, teachers, shoemakers and fools
Who broke the old rule, and the price of Kings. . . .

It took a long time to buy these words.
It took a long time, and much pain.

—Stephen Vincent Benét

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To a Young Archaeologist

MARCIA LEE ANDERSON

You dig to know. And yet you know
Already what these bones declare:
That flesh must fail, that brains must go
Floating dusty on the air.

The sockets of this skull recite
No secret. Did you think to seize
The fire that burnt the seer white
And burst the sinews of his knees?

Around you, wizened shard and stone,
The shapes of all his hours, lie,
Creation's residue; your own,
You know, will turn as small and dry.

Will ribs of yours preserve your lust
To dig and dig and never find?
Will you record upon the dust
What fed the fever of your mind?

Master of arts, in love with time,
Time will bring you to perceive
That random bits of clay and lime
Are all that love can bear to leave.

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Psychological Warfare and Foreign Policy

SAUL K. PADOVER

"*What is so furiouse or mad a thinge as a vaine sounde of wordes of the best sort and most ornate, contayning neither connynge nor sentence?*"

—Sir Thomas Elyot, The Boke of the Governour, 1534

Mark Twain once said of Christian Science that it was neither Christian nor science. Of psychological warfare one can likewise say that it is neither psychology nor war. The term covers a field of activity in the realm of politics, foreign affairs, communications, publicity and propaganda. In essence, it means the use of all available media of communications for the purpose of destroying the enemy's will to fight.

Modern psychological warfare is more inclusive than old-fashioned propaganda in its sphere of operations, and less naïve in its faith in the efficacy of one-sidedness and calculated falsehood. It tends to place some confidence in the teachings of the sciences of man, notably social psychology and cultural anthropology. It tries to understand the audience and acts on the assumption that words alone do not win wars or campaigns. To be effective, words must be coupled with action. Hence psychological warfare is closely tied to political or military policy.

In the United States, as elsewhere, psychological warfare is a part of foreign policy. Most of its activities are centered in the State De-

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partment under an Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. At present its annual budget is $79 million. The armed forces have their own psychological warfare branches, usually for tactical combat purposes in battle.

Psychological warfare, about which we are going to hear more and more as the Cold War intensifies (and still more if and when general shooting begins), is not merely an exercise of the vocal chords or the printing press. Physical devices can also be used to achieve propaganda effects, as is illustrated by the recent case of the right arm of the Jesuit missionary, St. Francis Xavier. When St. Francis died on his way to China in 1552, his fellow-Jesuits sliced off his right arm and sent it to Rome. In 1949, the sacred relic, well-preserved in a gold and glass case, was sent by the Catholic Church to Japan to help General MacArthur fight communism there. *Life* magazine, awe-struck by the propagandistic possibilities of the holy bone, reported:

> An ancient, awe-inspiring relic last month took its place in the mounting struggle between paganism and Christianity in Japan. . . . There was good reason for the arm's return. St. Francis himself had had plenty of opposition from the Buddhists during his campaign to Christianize Japan. Now, in a different form, opposition was still strong. . . . Communism was gaining more converts than Christianity. . . . General MacArthur asked for more Bibles to aid in the fight and the Catholics were exhibiting Xavier's arm to vast crowds in many cities . . . to dramatize their campaign for converts.

World War II, when the phrase "psychological warfare" became current, saw two new developments. One was the use of loudspeakers and other devices, such as leaflet bombs, on the field of battle, in order to induce the enemy to surrender. The other was the large-scale and systematic application of radio to political warfare. In terms of the history of war, this young medium of communication which can encircle the earth and cross all man-made borders was as much of a new weapon as the atomic bomb. Today this "whispering gallery," as Woodrow Wilson described radio, is the main instrument of ideological warfare and propaganda. It is aimed essentially at civilian audiences over the face of the earth.

II

Both the Americans and the Russians are fully engaged at present

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in the battle of the vocal chords. Sound is reinforced by print and picture. It is a war to which the average, even reasonably well-informed American has paid too little attention. Yet in its implications and repercussions, the psychological warfare now being waged may be at least as important as the fighting in Korea.

No one is more keenly aware of the value of political propaganda than are the Communist Russians. They know that underlying the diplomatic-political-economic-military aspects of the global cold war, is the ideological struggle, the conflict for human loyalties and beliefs. They are alert to the possibilities of using human emotions, hopes and fears and aspirations, as prime political ammunition. They give the impression of being convinced that, in the end, the struggle between East and West will not be won so much on the field of battle as in the hearts and minds of men.

The Soviet Union's propaganda machine, for use both at home and abroad, is one of the most formidable instruments for the shaping of beliefs in the world today. It employs hundreds of thousands of professionals at home. Abroad it has fervent and devoted allies who repeat the Soviet arguments and carry out its policies. When one keeps in mind that there are more than twenty million Communist party members outside the Soviet Union, not to mention the tens of millions of their fellow-travelers, one begins to realize what an immense pro-Russian propaganda force exists. Everywhere and at all times these people propagate the line laid down by the Kremlin. They may, indeed, be regarded as the Soviet Union's powerful foreign legion in psychological warfare.

What do they say in their propaganda? As is well known, the United States has become Moscow's chief devil. Against America, Soviet propaganda follows three main themes:

1. U. S. is corrupt, run by Big Business.
2. U. S. is imperialist, determined to dominate the world economically.
3. U. S. is a warmonger, out to destroy "the people's democracies."

The Communists' anti-American propaganda is not mere hate or

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willfulness or words spoken out of ignorance. On the contrary, it is a long-range strategic offensive against the free world; it is part of the far-reaching policy of undermining the United States even before a single bullet is fired, and thereby substantially weakening the one power capable of resisting or blocking Communist imperialism. In other words, the Kremlin propaganda line is not a conventional name-calling affair, but an integral instrument of total aggression on a global scale.

Consider, for example, the theme that the United States is a warmonger. Propaganda-wise, nothing could be more clever. As a smoke screen, it enables communism to cloak its planned aggressions as a supposed defense against so-called American warmongering machinations. Thus in the case of Korea, the Soviet and Chinese line has been that imperialist Americans with the aid of South Koreans invaded the innocent "people's democracy" of North Korea. This is the well-known technique of the Big Lie. As George Orwell put it, in the Communist language night is day, black is white, war is peace, brutality is love. This particular Big Lie about United States aggression is of particular importance with regard to the future, for it is a strategic maneuver intended to destroy either America's will to action or its moral ground before action. Should, for example, Communist aggressions and provocations become so intolerable as to move the United States to take armed steps, the Russian will be in a position to announce to the world a triumphant, "I told you so."

III

How does the United States counter this world-wide offensive? For a long time the American people and Congress failed to appreciate fully the extent of the Communist ideological penetration. Congress was suspicious, if not openly contemptuous, of anything that smacked of "propaganda," and the general public was not sufficiently informed of its significance in this age of mass communications. Thus, as soon as World War II was over, wartime agencies like OWI and OSS, with their skilled and experienced personnel, were disbanded, and a limited number of their functions were transferred to the State Department. The ablest individuals in the field left government service, and their loss has been tragic and irreplace-

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able. As a result of such short-sightedness, the United States all but lost the first round of the Cold War to the Communists in Europe (even in Western Europe) and in Asia.

It was not until 1948 that Congress took some steps to catch up with the Russians. On January 27, 1948, it passed the Smith-Mundt Act "to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." Under the Act, a number of information and propaganda agencies were set up in the State Department, the most important among them being the Office of Educational Exchange (OEX) and the Office of International Information (OII).

The Educational Exchange program is probably the largest undertaking of its kind ever carried out by any nation. It involves both books and persons. Apart from the 134 centers of information, or libraries, which the United States now maintains in sixty foreign countries, the program facilitates the interchange of students, scholars, journalists, artists, businessmen and technicians, who are brought to this country for periods varying from a few weeks to a year or more. There are, at present, about 6,000 such individuals in America, more than 2,000 of them colored. In 1949 about 2,200 Germans, including journalists and mayors, came to the United States to study the ways of democracy.

In addition, there are other foreign students in America, not on U. S. government expense. At present, 26,000 students and 4,000 non-students are learning American ideas and methods here. Some 800 colleges and 600 private organizations are cooperating in the whole program.

This traffic is by no means one-way, although the bulk moves in the American direction. About 16,000 American students are now studying abroad, 800 of them under the Fulbright program, which is being expanded. Fulbright fellows are chosen for their scholarship, personality and presentability. The proportion of American Negro Fulbright scholars abroad is, it happens, slightly higher than that of white fellows.

It is difficult to estimate the propaganda effects of this exchange program. For one thing, it is not yet old enough to warrant any defi-

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nite conclusions. For another, few, if any, full surveys have as yet been made. The State Department itself is not absolutely certain that a large-scale exchange of persons is a good thing per se. Who can tell what happens to the mind and emotions of, say, a Hindu student in the United States or an American boy in India? If a student with a colored skin is refused admittance into an American hotel or denied service in a restaurant, does that turn him into a friend of American democracy?

In general, however, the experiment is probably worth trying and even enlarging. Out of so large a number of foreign visitors, a certain percentage are bound to learn to understand the United States and to return to their respective countries as ambassadors of good will.

The Office of International Information is the one that is most directly concerned with propaganda. It consists of three divisions, covering the chief media of communications: film, press and radio. The Division of International Motion Pictures exhibits approximately 250 American documentary films in twenty-nine languages to an audience of around 100 million people. The Division of International Press and Publications uses every visual medium to try to tell the American story to foreign audiences. For as Secretary Acheson said: "The facts about what we do, the facts about why we do it, the facts about the way we do it, are integral parts of what we do in foreign affairs." The Division supplies its information officers abroad a constant flow of posters, photo plates, pamphlets, books and periodicals. In recent years a total of three million pamphlets on American life have been distributed. The Division also publishes a number of periodicals, the most interesting being *Amerika*, a *Life*-like illustrated magazine in Russian, with a circulation of more than 50,000 inside the Soviet Union.

The International Broadcasting Division is in charge of the Voice of America, a propaganda operation that covers the world. More than half of the total information budget, or $41 million, goes to the Voice of America—mostly for capital investment, however, such as building and improving stations and transmitters, and experimentation in radio engineering. Only around $10 million are spent on the Voice of America program. Speaking of this small sum, Foy D.

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Kohler, chief of the International Broadcasting Division, said: "Our *annual* budget costs about as much as *one minute* of actual war on the scale of World War II."

From a physical standpoint, the Voice of America is a large operation. It has thirty-eight short-wave transmitters in the United States, ranging in power from 50,000 to 200,000 watts, and a number of stations in Munich, Manila, Honolulu, Tangier, Salonika and England. In addition, the Voice of America has special arrangements for the relaying of its programs with fifty stations in thirteen Latin American countries, as well as a number of others in Korea, Italy, Greece, France, Austria and Germany. In Berlin there is a powerful broadcasting station, RIAS—Radio in American Sector—which produces its own programs and covers Eastern Germany up to Poland.

Quantitatively speaking, the output of the Voice of America is impressive. Daily it pours out seventy programs of 200,000 words in some twenty-five languages, including two Near Eastern, four Far Eastern and sixteen European. In general, about 11 per cent of the total radio time is devoted to music, 32 per cent to news, and 57 per cent to features.

IV

The Voice of America, as an instrument of American policy, claims a potential world audience of 300 million. But in the whole world there are only about forty-three million short-wave receiving sets, of which 65 per cent are in Western Europe. Five million sets are in the Soviet Union, which is all but impenetrable to foreign broadcasts. At a maximum, the Voice has perhaps 80 million occasional or habitual listeners.

Of all foreign audiences, the ones of most direct concern are, of course, those under Communist domination, particularly in Europe. The question is: Does the Voice of America penetrate the lands under Soviet control? There is evidence to show that the Voice does pierce the satellite countries in Europe. Occasionally it even touches Russia itself. Although very few letters trickle out of the Soviet Union, there is some reason to suppose that a few Russians listen to the foreign radio. At least, it would seem, the Kremlin is bothered

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by the broadcasts from the free world, both the Voice of America and the much more influential BBC, and has paid them the compliment of trying to shut them out. Since April, 1949, the Russians have made persistent efforts to jam them. American engineers estimate that 1,000 transmitters are at work inside the Soviet Union jamming all foreign broadcasts. The Russians, despite American counter-efforts, seem to be succeeding largely in drowning out everything with a volume of noise that includes whirring electric motors, howling winds, and screaming sea gulls.

When an anti-jamming resolution was introduced in the United Nations, on the ground that jamming was a denial of the human right to freedom of information, a Russian delegate replied that the foreign broadcasts were "trying to poison the consciences of our people." In this fear of outside news and opinion lies, perhaps, the Soviet Union's potential weakness that, properly exploited through psychological warfare, could become fatal to the rulers in the Kremlin.

V

We can now attempt to evaluate the whole psychological warfare program from the point of view of its effectiveness as a foreign policy instrument. In other words, does it achieve what it attempts to do?

One must emphasize that psychological warfare in itself is not a policy, but an instrument. These are things it cannot do. It cannot, in the long run, get away with systematic falsehoods. It cannot impose an alien system of values on one that already exists. It cannot alter basic institutions or satisfy physical needs or permanently substitute words for deeds.

But properly used—which means always in coordination with action—it can encourage friends and discourage enemies. It can undermine and disrupt. It can neutralize the potentially hostile or wavering. Tied to military action, it can help to confuse the enemy, damage his morale, put him on the defensive. In wartime, for example, it can make systematic appeals to the latent nationalisms in the Soviet orbit and stimulate discontent that would lead to disruptive action.

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Looked at from the foreign policy point of view, the American psychological warfare program has not been effective. Indeed, quite the contrary. Two chief misconceptions are largely responsible for the failure. One is the idea that psychological warfare or propaganda is just like advertising. The other is that foreigners think, or wish to think, like Americans.

There is a widespread belief that, since Americans are smart advertisers, all that the government needs to do is hire a few high-pressure hucksters and fast-talking public relations counsels and, bingo, they will "produce the goods." Even Dr. George Gallup seems to hold such a belief. Recently he proposed a five-billion dollar propaganda department to be staffed, he said, "with the best brains . . . drawn from the fields of publishing, broadcasting, public relations and advertising." But this is precisely what the situation does *not* require. This is exactly the kind of staff that could easily lose us the world politically, no matter what happens militarily.

For it cannot be emphasized too strongly that political propaganda is not the same as selling soap or tissue paper. It is not a job for slick "operators," trained in the art of "putting over a sales campaign." We are not dealing with that kind of campaign. We are dealing with a world revolutionary situation involving races and cultures and aspirations totally alien to the experience of advertising executives. Advertising men have their function—on the American scene and inside the American economy. But the world situation calls for totally different types of professionals. Political propaganda, a task of extraordinary complexity, requires intellectuals, scholars, specialists and—in the final analysis—political philosophers.

All world-political signs indicate that we are in for a long conflict on ideological grounds, and one that will continue whether there is general shooting or not. In fact, it would be wise to act on the assumption that even if a general war should break out and should end in an American military victory, there will be a prolonged political aftermath of global proportions. Postwar upheavals all over the earth will require the ablest, the steadiest, the most skilled and sophisticated American political guidance—if this country is to survive as a world power.

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This leads us to the second American misconception, namely, national ethnocentrism. There is in the United States a tendency to disregard the basic interests and outlooks of the foreign audiences to which America addresses itself. The American inclination is to assume that what is good for the United States is good for everybody. Effective propaganda, however, must take into account the hopes, demands and expectations, not of the propagandist, but of the audience. Instead of telling a Malayan, for example, about the daily life of a worker in the Ford factory, or a Turk about the Christmas spirit in America, it would be more fruitful to inform him of his own plight and what American democracy is ready to do for him.

Even in Western Europe, American propaganda fails in its effects when it describes—truthfully, to be sure—the gleaming kitchens, labor-saving devices, and assorted gadgets which the middle-class housewife of the United States has at her disposal. Since the overwhelming majority of European housewives could not possibly afford or ever hope to possess such equipment, the result is either disbelief or resentment. This is particularly true in our propaganda to the Russians, whose standard of living is so low compared to that of the United States that they simply cannot conceive the vastness of the difference. Consequently, statements of American superiority in material things sound to the Russians like sheer lies. The Russians plainly cannot imagine that such things as carpets in every home and cars in workingmen's garages could possibly be true. This is clearly brought out by the comment of Moscow's *New Times:*

> What the Voice of America has to say about workers' housing conditions is no less phony and unconvincing. . . . He [the commentator] wants to assure us that Americans—all Americans!—live like princes. Here is the rosy picture he paints: "The American worker," he says, "lives either in a separate house or in a separate apartment with kitchen and bathroom. Very many married people prefer to live in the suburbs in a detached cottage with a garden." And he further asserts that the 25 per cent of earnings paid in rent includes gas and telephone and even carpet-cleaning. Carpets, of course, are mentioned here not by chance. The Voice of America wants to insinuate that carpets are as common a thing in America as gas rings.

Even the most truthful statement can boomerang, if it is not geared to the range of the audience's beliefs and expectations.

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All reports from Europe and Asia indicate that the United States has failed to win over the masses of the people in those parts of the world. This is notably true in Asia, where our policy-makers have failed to take into proper account the revolutions that are now convulsing that continent. Leadership of the revolutionary movements there has been virtually abandoned to the Communists. Despite all that, as Reinhold Niebuhr pointed out, "The American nation is grossly overestimating its moral standing in Asia." The truth is, the United States has little prestige left there. Washington's psychological warfare program has hardly made a dent among the masses of the colored and undernourished peoples.

It is clear that the best radio transmitters in the world and the most far-flung organization of information specialists are no substitute for policy and leadership. United States policy has been singularly deficient in this moment of world crisis. It has been largely negative: *against* communism, *against* Sovietism, *against* dictatorship. But *for* what? To a world in fear and in need, a humanity in the agony of upheaval, the rich and powerful United States has offered no inspirational ideal or positive social program. As Maury Maverick once said: "You cannot fill the baby's bottle with liberty." Faced with a Communist-led ideological challenge, we have offered no Wilsonian Fourteen-Points program, no Rooseveltian Four-Freedoms appeal. And it is an axiom that you cannot beat something with nothing.

In consequence, our psychological warfare, even as our foreign policy, which it reflects, suffers from intellectual and spiritual emptiness. Perforce it must continue to do so until such a time as the United States shall have formulated a positive program for action, an ideal around which to rally men. Short of that, we are in danger of talking only to those of our friends who already share our expectations, and of losing the great majority of mankind that is still searching for a hope and a vision.

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The Man Who Married Magdalene

LOUIS SIMPSON

The man who married Magdalene
Had not forgiven her.
God might pardon every sin . . .
Love is no pardoner.

Her hands were hollow, pale and blue,
Her mouth like watered wine.
He watched to see if she were true
And waited for a sign.

It was old harlotry, he guessed,
That drained her strength away,
So gladly for the dark she dressed,
So sadly for the day.

Their quarrels made her dull and weak
And soon a man might fit
A penny in the hollow cheek
And never notice it.

At last, as they exhausted slept,
Death granted the divorce,
And nakedly the woman leapt
Upon that narrow horse.

But when he woke and woke alone
He wept and would deny
The loose behavior of the bone
And the immodest thigh.

✪ LOUIS SIMPSON is associate editor at the Bobbs-Merrill Company. His first book of poems, *The Arrivistes*, was published in 1949, and his poems and fiction have appeared in the *Columbia Review*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Esquire*, *Tomorrow*, and the *Chicago Review*.

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Thomas Jefferson Survives

JULIAN P. BOYD

JAMES PARTON'S DESCRIPTION of Jefferson as "a young man of thirty-two who could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin" is, for all its incongruity, only a partial analysis of his enormous versatility. To catalogue the areas of his explorations is to list most of the principal categories of knowledge: law, government, history, mathematics, architecture, medicine, agriculture, languages and literature, education, music, philosophy, religion, and almost every branch of the natural sciences from astronomy through meteorology to zoology. This exploration of science and culture, much of which Jefferson enriched and all of which he gathered within the orbit of his lofty purpose, is apt to be misunderstood in a day when the vast accumulation of knowledge has made universal inquiry impossible and specialization inevitable. Yet his insatiable thirst for knowledge was neither dilettantism nor pedantry. Its most salient characteristic was its purposefulness.

"Jefferson aspired beyond the ambition of a nationality," wrote Henry Adams, "and embraced in his view the whole future of man." Nevertheless this grand object could be achieved only through proof that government by consent as inaugurated in the American republic was practicable, that the ancient philosophical concept was able to survive its test before the eyes of the world. Jefferson wrote to John Dickinson a few days after his inauguration as president:

✪ Since 1940 librarian of the Princeton University Library, JULIAN P. BOYD is the editor of numerous historical documents. At present he is editing the monumental work, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* to be published in about fifty volumes, Volume I of which has recently appeared.

"Thomas Jefferson survives" are the last words of John Adams, uttered on July 4, 1826. The statement was formerly doubted by historians, but has been verified.

This article is an abridgment of an address delivered by Dr. Boyd before the Phi Beta Kappa chapter of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, at the initiation ceremonies on April 21, 1950.

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A just and solid republican government maintained here will be a standing monument and example for the aim and imitation of the people of other countries; and I join with you in the hope and belief that they will see from our example that a free government is of all others the most energetic; that the enquiry which has been excited among the mass of mankind by our revolution and its consequences, will ameliorate the condition of man over a great portion of the globe. What a satisfaction have we in the contemplation of the benevolent effects of our efforts, compared with those of the leaders on the other side, who have discountenanced all advances in science as dangerous innovations, have endeavored to render philosophy and republicanism terms of reproach, to persuade us that man cannot be governed but by the rod, &c. I shall have the happiness of living and dying in the contrary hope.

What for us is a proof was for him still an untried hope. Its realization depended upon the character of the citizens of the Republic. Hope and satisfaction alike would disappear if the standing monument fell. Its strength and virtue lay in its quality as an example to be emulated. Its force among the nations of the earth would, therefore, be a moral force, and its empire would not be one held together by armies, fleets or commerce, but bound by the strong ties of an idea holding sway through the ever-increasing Empire of Liberty. This being so, every citizen faced a responsibility to sustain the example and keep it from failing.

None realized this more clearly or met the responsibility more heroically than Jefferson. The urgency that permeated all of his versatile explorations of the fields of knowledge, the unremitting effort to improve himself and his countrymen, betrayed, perhaps, a fear that the great experiment might fail; that the mass of the people here might not be, as he knew they were not in some parts of the world, ready for the trial. If he exhibited a missionary zeal in what he called the "holy republican gospel," it was no doubt because he felt it necessary to set an example for his fellow citizens as they in turn were obligated to set it before the world. This idea, that the successful establishment of a republic governed by the consent of the people would "ameliorate the condition of man over a great portion of the globe," was one to which, for all his versatile and ramifying inquiry, Jefferson gave a single-minded devotion.

If this was the central core of his purpose, there were other beliefs and propositions that necessarily and logically followed. The citizens of a republic, to meet their exacting responsibilities, would

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need to know their rights and duties. Therefore, the establishment of a system of universal public education was necessary—not a system leveling all to a drab and uniform mediocrity, but a system so organized as to bring forth the best minds and elevate them to that position in which their talents would be best employed for the general welfare. If self-government was to succeed, the voice of the people must determine their affairs. Therefore, all barriers to free inquiry must be removed, freedom of access to information protected, freedom of speech and of assembly safeguarded. Since ecclesiastical systems had historically marched hand in hand with governments of varying kinds, had often asserted a power transcending that of the state, and had frequently opposed the spread of science and learning, the individual right of conscience must be protected by separating church and state. Since science and the progress of society daily brought about changes in the economic, social and spiritual status of mankind, it was necessary to establish fundamental constitutions which could not be altered by any power other than the people—though these should never be regarded as sacred and unalterable, but adjustable to inevitably changing conditions.

These necessary consequences of Jefferson's central purpose were not, of course, his beliefs alone. Their lineage was already ancient when he appeared on the scene. Yet, although he and his compatriots merely inherited the legacy of the sixteenth century at one of those pivotal moments of history when concept and opportunity are joined, Jefferson was the pre-eminent spokesman for the idea that became, under his felicitous pen, both the fundamental act of union and an exalted expression of the national purpose.

In the face of the capital fact that the nation which began such a great experiment under such high ideals has become the oldest, the largest, and by all standards the wealthiest and most powerful republic on earth, it seems needless thus to restate the principles which moved its founders and its chief spokesman. Are we not already sufficiently aware of our deep-rooted beliefs and principles: have we not glorified the Declaration of Independence, sanctified the Bill of Rights, proclaimed our allegiance to their principles in coast-to-coast broadcasts, speeches, loyalty parades, prizes, Freedom Trains, pledges, and many other ways—so much so that our ears and eyes are

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benumbed by the very din? Surely. But when we escape at last the noise and the public spectacles and the fervid orators, we are assailed by skepticism. And we conclude that there are at least two compelling reasons for re-examining and restating the Jeffersonian philosophy.

First, the voices that echo his words are often discordant, contradictory voices, lacking conviction and creating the uneasy suspicion that the true purpose is not so much to understand and apply his principles as to clothe hidden motives and attitudes with a semblance of justification through the employment of his name and his words. The voices do not ring true. Second, though actuality and ideal seldom if ever coincide, there is such a wide discrepancy between what the voices proclaim and what the proclaimers perform as to raise grave suspicions about their understanding of Jeffersonian ideals, or their intent, or both. The voices echo the word, but the action does not so much embody a constructive attitude toward mankind as special pleading for a group of men or for a restricted and unstated group of special interests. The principles are emblazoned on the billboards, in the subways, in children's comics, in the housewife's opiate taken in the form of true-to-life drama synthesized in the radio booths, repeated endlessly and (we suspect) on the cynical conviction that anything reiterated enough will at last be believed. But the principles, in large part, are not the touchstones of action and policy. The voices and the actions do not square.

Let us listen first to the contradictory voices that today re-echo the words of Thomas Jefferson. On the far Left, which of course becomes at full circle the far Right, we find Jefferson's stalwart championship of individual freedom voiced by those who, when in power, destroy all liberty which the individual may claim as of natural right. Their particular darling among historical American figures is, of course, Thomas Paine, but Jefferson's words are soothing and useful to them on occasion. Jefferson, who preferred chaos to government if government could be had only at the price of individual liberty, is quoted, but the one the quoters have in mind is Robespierre, progenitor of the modern totalitarian, who would sacrifice all personal liberty for the sake of order in society. Far off to the Right are those who, calling themselves Jeffersonians, embrace the doctrines of States' Rights not, as Jefferson did, for the purpose of advancing and

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strengthening the Empire of Liberty, but for the purpose of buttressing the status quo. Nearer the center, but still on the Right, are those who find solace not only in Jefferson's defense of States' Rights, but also in his assertion that the best government is that which governs least. They use—or more particularly in the past fifteen years they have used—Jefferson's words, but their allegiance really goes back to Hamilton and Marshall. They speak, for the most part, from honest conviction; they regard themselves as the true protectors of society and its institutions; they believe fervently in what they consider the American concept of government. But in actuality they cannot accept Jefferson's fundamental premise: that the people may be trusted to govern themselves. Near the Center and extending slightly to the Left are Fair Deals and New Deals, claiming not only legitimate descent from Jefferson but also an authority to wear his mantle and to employ his precepts. Here there is a measure of justification. Certainly, insofar as general policy and attitudes are concerned, there is some identity of statement and intent. But all too often there is a wide and, at this moment, an apparently increasing discrepancy between preachment and practice. The voices *ought* to ring true, but they rarely do.

Somewhere in this wide spectrum of opinion and belief somebody is bound to be wrong. Jefferson might on occasion have agreed with any of these groups on a given proposition, but on the fundamental principles of government and the inalienable rights of the individual he could only have agreed with those who have confidence in the people and who support individual rights as against any arbitrary and irresponsible power existing anywhere.

The thoughtful citizen may well ask himself which of the self-styled spokesmen for the Jeffersonian point of view is entitled to the claim. Which merely employs his words to fit a preconceived purpose? Which endeavors honestly to understand Jefferson's meaning, to discover what in his philosophy is living and valid today, and to strive toward the application of those principles that are not obsolete? The question is not an idle one. In many respects it is the gravest question that a citizen can ask himself today. For if, as I believe, Woodrow Wilson was correct in saying that the immortality of Jefferson lay not in any of his achievements but in his attitude to-

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ward mankind; and if, as I also believe, though many thoughtful men do not, his philosophy of government and of the individual's rights and responsibilities have not been rendered obsolete, though the natural law upon which these were based no longer seems worthy of historical or philosophical support, then it is a matter of grave concern to the American people and to the world that the conflicting echoes of his voice should be judged. For we are in serious danger of having, if we are honest, to give a new answer to Crèvecoeur's famous question, "Who is this new man, this American?" In his day the answer would have been Jefferson's: He is a man self-confident and self-reliant; he believes himself capable of governing himself; he is weak in physical resources and national power, but his inner convictions are indomitable and will prevail. Today, we should have to say: He is a citizen of the most powerful nation on earth, but he is frightened—or at least his leaders in government, in the press, in the church, and even in the universities tell him that he *ought* to be frightened—by the specter of communism. And fright has caused him to do violence to the things which he once prized most dearly.

As Tocqueville said with prophetic insight more than a century ago, "No form or combination or social policy has yet been devised to make an energetic people of a community of pusillanimous and enfeebled citizens." The weakness we have to fear is not one of material resources, but of the moral fiber of our nationhood and its principles. I do not mean to imply that the Jeffersonian precepts, however applicable they may have been to the society in which he lived, should be respected today merely because he entertained them or because they were once applicable to our national welfare. "The earth belongs in usufruct to the living; and . . . the dead have neither powers nor rights over it," he once declared, and his entire career reflects a magnet-like steadiness of aim in supporting this revolutionary and radical proposition. He not only recognized the absolute necessity of change if his dream of substituting reason and justice for authority and superstition were ever to be realized, but his ceaseless, versatile activity throughout life was, for all its diverse ramifications, a single, purposeful, dedicated effort to bring change about (though not "for light and transient causes") by peaceful means if possible, by revolution if necessary.

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Though a revolutionary in deed and in thought, and one who calmly accepted the inevitability of turbulence and conflict in a republic, he was, in a true sense, the greatest of conservatives. For that which he sought to conserve was, by comparison with the objects of all other forms of conservatism, such as to make them seem almost trivial and irrelevant. All other forms of conservatism sought, in the end, to protect custom or property or established order; he sought to conserve the rights of men, over which neither the customs of society nor the property of individuals nor the order of established institutions nor any other earthly power should take precedence, since all found their ultimate justification in man who had formed society and created these things for the better protection of his rights. On all other matters his moral philosophy was relativistic; on *this* he was inflexible. "Nothing, then," he declared, "is unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man." Each generation should face its new problems in its own way, unfettered by the dead hand of the past. But none could justly or with impunity violate the basic assumption on which the state rested.

We may at once, then, dismiss the clamors of the extreme Right and the extreme Left, however much they may quote Jefferson in justification of their purposes. For by no stretch of reason or of the imagination could his lofty purpose be made commensurate with the kind of authoritarianism exhibited in these quarters. Indeed, we may dismiss all of those groups who appeal to the name of Jefferson either for the purpose of maintaining the status quo or for the purpose of returning to the past, so long as these purposes do not aim at the preservation of the "inherent and inalienable rights of man." They may quote Jefferson's words about the folly of directing agriculture from Washington; about the danger of a national debt and of high taxes; about the perfection of that government which governs least. There are many bold and quotable words on these subjects which, superficially, seem to lend the weight of Jefferson's authority to such a position. The words are the same, but the discordant voices quoting them are as out of key with the world of today as the pony express would be. Clearly, the government that governs least would in this twentieth century of corporate power be the worst possible form of government. I feel sure that Jefferson could detect the corporate

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abuse of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and would oppose it quite as readily as he did similar abuses by government in the eighteenth century.

James Bryce, half a century ago, observed that in Jefferson's day the restraining hand of authority was laid upon the individual by government, and that Jefferson and his contemporaries made the mistake of considering "the pernicious channels in which selfish propensities had been flowing for those propensities themselves, which were sure to find new channels when the old had been destroyed." Yet Bryce himself erred in thinking, with many today, that Jefferson feared only the power of government; that he set form above substance, channel above propensity. As for his attitude toward the abuses of power outside government, we need only recall his impassioned indictment of ecclesiastical authority, and of the power of manufacturing and commercial interests. As for government, it was what he called the "desolating pestilence" of power and its corrupting and abusive quality that he attacked, not its form. Proof of this is to be found in the Declaration of Independence itself: one of the self-evident truths there proclaimed was that "whenever *any form* of government becomes destructive of" the inalienable rights of man, the people could "institute new government, laying it foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers *in such form*, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The voices on the Left and the Right are apt, like most of us, to read these exalted words in the context of 1776 and in reference to the single aim of justifying independence as against the supposed tyranny of George III. But they are for us now, as they were for Jefferson throughout life, not words to be remembered from the past as applicable to an obsolete purpose, but rather as a perpetual, living affirmation of an unalterable right, accessible at any time, in our day or in the distant future, to a people who will "suffer, while evils are sufferable" but who will not endure the intolerable. They are, of course, dangerous and inflammable words, useful to the subversive as well as to the reactionary, but their danger is a calculated risk and not regarded as a danger at all by those who, like Jefferson, regard the people as the safest, though not always the wisest, repository of

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power. They are also words of warning. They warn those who stand at the head of government—as well as those who represent economic, ecclesiastical, military, racial or other groups of society and who endeavor to bend government to their wishes—that the limits of sufferable evils must not be transcended.

These limits are being approached. The warning flags have been run up, but they have been disregarded. In 1948, despite the fearsome predictions of those whose preoccupation it is to instill a sense of fear, the people gave an overwhelming demonstration of the fact that they are not and have no intention of following after the false gods of communism. On top of this came the result of the loyalty investigation in government. Of the more than two million persons employed by government and investigated, less than one one-hundredth of 1 per cent were found to be suspected of disloyalty. In the face of these irrefutable demonstrations of the sense and loyalty of the people of this nation, men may still be accused of disloyalty, may be denied the right to be confronted by the accuser, and may thereby stand in jeopardy of loss of reputation or livelihood. The highest legal officer of the government still possesses the power to say what organizations may be regarded as subversive, and citizens belonging to them may be placed under suspicion, investigated secretly, and made the object of humiliation and calumny. Elected representatives may still, though servants of the people, assume to themselves the supreme arrogance of defining for the American people what constitutes good American behavior, compounding insult, injury and denial of the principles they profess. State after state has required oaths of loyalty to America—oaths the real object of which is the illusory hope of exposing loyalty to Russia. Textbooks are being banned, writers boycotted, libraries told what can be safely placed before readers, teachers investigated, not for the competence of their teaching, but for the danger of their ideas. As the supreme evidence of confused thinking, an honored liberal journal has been struck from the list of school libraries in our greatest city, not because what it published was asserted to be untrue or libelous, but because three articles were said to be offensive to a particular church. These things, and more, are done often in the name of Thomas Jefferson, though by no tenet in the entire canon of his faith can any suppression of

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access to information, any denial of freedom of opinion, or any compulsory affirmation of belief be justified.

Despite the doctrine of fear on which moral, political, economic and other issues are being resolved, a few courageous voices re-echo the faith that Jefferson expressed when we experienced a similar wave of hysteria in the years 1798-1800. They believe, with him, that government by the people is the most energetic, though not necessarily the most orderly form; that the people may be trusted when left free to decide; and that those who offer false and seditious counsels should be allowed to "stand as monuments of the freedom with which error of opinion can be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

If I know anything about Thomas Jefferson and his principles, I believe these voices to be authentic echoes of his voice. They are honest, courageous, influential voices. They will not be silenced by the demand for conformity or for articulate hatred. They will grow in eloquence and influence. But they will influence only the spirit of the nation; they cannot yet determine policy.

For our policy as a nation is determined in the contest for power. This global struggle has brought forth two immense dangers, each of which threatens a betrayal of the principles for which Jefferson spoke. Internally, we profess that tolerance that is a necessary and essential element of society under a republic, but at the same time we are doing our utmost to compel uniformity, to level dissent, to suppress unorthodox ideas, and to organize an hysterical and potentially tyrannical public sentiment around the false proposition that the thing we hate can be eliminated if only we are unanimous in our hatred. Externally, we are in danger of forgetting, in our effort to win the peaceful nations of the earth to our side, that the world at this particular juncture may be more critically in need of moral leadership than of vast supplies of machines, arms, material goods and extensions of dollar credits. Either course, long continued, could destroy forever the kind of free republic composed of free men that Jefferson envisaged.

The compulsory uniformity now demanded of men in public life is the very antithesis of what Jefferson contemplated. For, as was observed by a wise philosopher a century before Jefferson, where

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there is uniformity, there also is tyranny. The temptation to adopt a new kind of imperialism which the mere possession of power brings with it may prove in the long run to be the undoing of ourselves as well as those who seem to stand in our path. At any rate, in pursuing either course, let us not malign the name of Jefferson by attempting to identify his ideals with our actions. Let those who would compel uniformity at home, who would deny the right of dissent to some, who would control our thinking and channel it in one single direction, who would decide our national issues by reference to the acts of another nation rather than by the principles we affirm, who would use our vast strength to mold and direct the governments of other nations to our desires, attempting to impose an international conformity similar to that now threatening the life of individuals and their freedom of choice—let all these reflect upon Jefferson's final affirmation of the meaning of American independence and of the establishment of a new nation: "May it be to the world what I believe it will be (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which Monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves and to assume the blessings and security of self-government. The form which we have substituted restores the right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of man."

We have had proof enough, in our lifetime, that all eyes are *not* opened to the rights of man. We have had proof enough that the right to the "unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion" has indeed been bounded, and has in many respects been suspended. But, dismaying though this is, the greatest of tragedies in this conflict would be for this nation, which first erected a monument to stand as an example of man's capacity to protect his rights by a government of his own ordering, to deny its own birthright. The evidence that we are in danger of doing so, at home and abroad, is all too obvious. The final irony is that, in committing violence upon our professed principles, we should endeavor to justify our shameful default by appealing to the name of the man who was the author of that statement of our national ideal whose words we parrot while our acts desecrate its spirit.

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Clock without Glass, by a Deathbed

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL

Broken or lost the thin transparent disk
Over the beating hour,
And at great risk
Time measures life, so soon to be unfettered,
Unshielded now by bright impermanent power,
Crystal of health, which someway has been shattered.

✪ Associate editor of E. P. Dutton & Company, LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL has published three volumes of poems: *Water and Light*, *Dawn in Snow*, and *Life Is the Flesh;* and one book of prose: *The Blossom-Print.*

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At Home with Lucretia Mott

MARY ORMSBEE WHITTON

A collection of the family letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott was presented recently to the Smith College Library. They were sent from California where they were assembled by the Garrison family, Lucretia's niece, Ellen, having married the second William Lloyd Garrison, son of the famous abolitionist. The main body of Mott material is at Swarthmore, but these new unpublished personal letters have their special interest and flavor.*

A PIONEER among pioneer liberals, Lucretia Mott (1793-1880) has long been known to students of the pre-Civil War period. Here was a woman who, more than a hundred years ago, was crusading for causes that are causes still. Indeed, the two generations since her death have seen these supposedly local evils translated into global terms. On Lucretia's agenda were the issues of slavery, intemperance, equal rights for women, religious freedom, peace, and the cause of the little man against what she called "monopolizers." These, under slightly different names, have become the meat of various United Nations committees and sub-committees.

✪ MARY ORMSBEE WHITTON has recently been specializing in the history of American women. She is the author of *First First Ladies* (1948), and is now completing a book on women of the pre-Civil War period.

*In the brief scope of this article no attempt is made to quote letters in full, but rather to extract passages which portray either the woman herself or the period in which she lived. A general, but not an exact, chronological sequence has been followed. Also, to save space, recipients will not be identified, for the Mott family tree resembles a banyan. Two elder daughters, Martha and Maria, married George Lord and Edward Davis. The one son, Thomas, married his cousin, Marianna Pelham, daughter of Lucretia's sister Martha by her first husband. It was this Martha's daughter by a second marriage, Ellen Coffin Wright, who became the wife of the second William Lloyd Garrison. Of the two younger Mott daughters, Elizabeth was Mrs. Thomas Cavender, while Anna married Edward Hopper, son of Isaac Hopper, the wealthy Quaker liberal of New York. These names occur again and again throughout the letters.

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Lucretia Mott was pre-eminently an intellectual pioneer. Beginning as a Quaker preacher (both Motts, Lucretia and James, her husband, belonged to the liberal wing of the Friends), she was the first American woman to be accepted by men as a public speaker. She came out against Negro slavery in 1829, and attended all-Negro churches two years before the initial blast of Garrison's *Liberator*. She also founded the first women's anti-slavery society in a day when women knew so little of platform procedure that they had to call on an educated colored man to serve as their chairman. It was James Mott who for the same reason took the chair at that first impromptu woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848.

That is established record, the bare bones. But the bits of paper now in the Sophia Smith collection supply the human stuff. Here is the woman with a family—always a part of it. Here is the domestic milieu through which other great names came and went. These letters present "Jas. & self" when that notable pair were approaching an Indian Summer among a group of daughters and sons-in-law, nieces and nephews, grandchildren and old family friends. Most of the letters were part of a round-robin system of exchange correspondence, and it is family tradition that the letters which Lucretia wrote about the trial of John Brown were worn out by passing from hand to hand.

The collection bears the mark of those long past years when a commercial blight had fallen on the country's seaports—aftermath of the War of 1812. Then James and Lucretia met poverty together —keeping store, teaching school. Pressed by close means and high postage, Lucretia learned to cram as much as possible on one page. The "page" might even be the margins or the reverse side of some notice, or the inside of an envelope. On such scraps she wrote around, about, above and across. In her comfortable old age she still held to the practice, at least within the family. She also had her own simple system of shorthand—a sudden contracting of long words, usually with no punctuation to indicate that a syllable or so had been left out. She expected her family to follow her, and probably they did.

In 1856, a letter is written on the blank margin surrounding an announcement of "our dear Augusta's safe delivery of TWIN DAUGHTERS!!!" A longer letter is penned around a printed

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notice of the May, 1867, Anniversary of the Universal Peace Society. Also converted to her correspondence is a printed invitation to a meeting for organizing "a new Christian Association upon unsectarian and humane principles." Dateless and almost indecipherable is a short letter written on the back of a woodcut of old Philadelphia. The note ends, "This picture which I cut from the [blotted] evokes happy memories of early days and I send it [blot] may enjoy it as I have done oh the pansies and [blot] I have gathered on that hill."

In 1869, she penned a letter to her son-in-law, Hopper, on a spread-out envelope. It ends, "If I go quite crazy tis with letters on the brain . . . These playful children." Visiting grandchildren, driven indoors by rain, were exercising their trumpets and drums while Lucretia caught up on her correspondence.

So well known within the family was this paper-saving propensity of Lucretia's that in her old age, a grandchild wrote asking that Grandmother send her, not a letter, but a "document." Grandmother complied.

A letter from 1850 shows that even in comfortable homes, woman's place was very much in the kitchen. At fifty-seven the notable crusader is surrounded, but not overwhelmed, by domesticity.

"Phila 9th, 4th day . . . . Anna B says . . . Jas. R. Lowell is engaged to be married to his daughtr's governess—Well, we have enjoyed the readg of thy letter—Patty dont agree with thee in prefrrg sweepg to corn puddg mkg but thy sister Elisa does. Sally Barker wld never see her kitchen if she cld help it. She wished she had a house without a kitchen. Maria and Elizabeth are increasingly interested in kitchen work i.e. butter-making. They supply us with a lot of our butter. We have put up a lot of tomatoes in cans have made mustard pickles etc and have salted down stone jars of string beans and dried any quantity of Limas. . . .

"We must wait till time and place are fixed before we can decide as to attendg the Wom. Con.—I reckon Ellen and thyself will go to the disunion con. if held at Syracuse and T. W. Higginson [word lost] Are yr canteloupes or nutmegs as delicious as ours? and have you eggplants as large as yr head? We have given away lots—our

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potatoes are dug . . . not so good a yield as they promised. . . . Apples are scarce—grain very good—we have just sold 2 cows for one good one and $10. to boot—Kniffen wld think "Mott" rather given to that. . . ."

A short undated letter:

"I did not quite agree with Garrison that liberty—individual freedom—was the great thing, if not the *all* to be gained in religious controversy. The dogmas of sects are so demoralizing that a strong protest aided by combativeness, does much to weaken the effect of these long-taught errors. True, we judge of men, as he said, not by their theology but by their lives—still we know that with too many, a belief, an assent to a creed passes for true piety. Thou told thy Catholic girl that each must respect the other's faith. I wld respect the *persons* holding any faith if their lives were right—and we all know right from wrong."

In 1857, James Mott, prior to giving up the larger Arch Street residence, was rebuilding for year-round occupancy the farmhouse on the old York Road, which had been used in summer for many years. Books, the mainspring of Lucretia's intellectual life, now have become a problem in bulk. David's "present"—The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages—*was by Lydia Maria Child, another pioneer.*

"Wm Earle has just married one whom he might well have wed years ago havg one or more childn to begin with. Caro says there are two. His mother always treated the first-born well. Mary speaks of the woman as industrious and good eno' for him.

"At present date, Jas. is absorbed in tearing down that barn not to build greater but less . . . to place it off S.W. from the house . . . all is at a stand now while Jas. is countg the cost of such a change. . . . But don't winter hang on?

"We were engaged all the morng arrng. closets and sweepg out. *Land*, as thou sayest, isn't it wonderful how the articles accumulate? . . . Presents of books just now seem anything but desirable—such a lot we have had to unpack and to find places for—I don't mean David's present, L. M. Child's *Religious Ideas. That* I leant to Mary

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Earle . . . she told us that we were less charitable than Mrs. Child who wrote so beautifully of all religions. I do value her work, tell David, but I am only waiting for time to pack a great lot and send to the University of Chicago, for their library. . . . The attention of many in Eng. seems turned to the wom. question. . . ."

From a letter written in 1867:

"So the next Wom. Rig. Con. is to be held Annivy week in NYork—I shall not be able to be there for tis our Yearly Meetg Week—Have you heard anything of Lucy Stone and her baby? We merely heard she had one. . . .

"When in town last 4th day Sarah and Reba were busy reducg their muffs and making fur cuffs of the part they took off. . . . I told them that now Ellis was going to leave them they had better resolve on marryg. They have such a happy home that they may be slow takg my advice. . . . I cant look on them as approaching 30. . . .

There was a new grandson for Lucretia, apparently somewhat unexpected.

". . . Anna Hopper is closely occupied with her fat large Isaac—I should not have been much more surprised to have added a son to *our* number than for Anna to have another. . . ."

Entertaining Wendell Phillips at dinner (Reference to the Indian Mutiny fixes the year as 1857. The letter is dated "Roadside, Sixth day afternoon."):

"After being several days in the City attendg Wendell P's lectures —splendid—I visited thy daughter and slept in thy chamber . . . here we are again at Roadside, where have been some choice friends, dinner party with Wendell—the first company in our new parlor. We tried a wood fire of light stuff in our new coal grate and it burned nicely—besides a heat to satisfy thee from the furnace in the cellar—Matty Grew said it was too warm. . . .

"Our company was Wendell and Mary G., Mattie Griffith, Ellis Y., Miller and daughtr Lucy. . . . We also bade Robt Purvis and wife, she didn't feel like comg so soon after the death of her son, tho' they were both at the lectures . . . Jas. dined with them this

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week and bo't of Robert a [blot] pig—also Anna B. was told she *might* come, and if not room at the table, we'd set a little one, wh. *mean* invitation as Geo. L. called it, may have prevented her comg. . . .

"Edwd cdnt come out . . . without being protested at the bank, he sd. Geo. of course cldnt come, so our long table was not quite filled. Our carpenter and 4 others filled another table in the kitchen, and fragments left for our tenant house—after a simple entertainment, too, plenty but not elaborate—our own fowls . . . no pies, sago and apple puddg, floatg isl. and custd. . . .

"Our converse was varied—the news just extra'd of Delhi's fall—Eng. in general, commerce in particular—Wendell's remarks in his lecture of human nature, depravity etc. . . . Mattie likes a little fun, so does Maria and finally we had a good time. . . .

In spite of never-ceasing pressure of household tasks, Lucretia insists on hearing the speakers she wishes to hear. According to a letter dated 1860, she has been hemming towels on her train trips into Philadelphia. The letter is signed, "Thy working Mother," with a postscript, "but no corn puddg."

"2d day morng Foggy a rainy wash day . . . Elisa has eno' to do now she tacked down all but her parlor carpet, then was laid up. . . . Mary and the girls with the help of Biddy did the parlor—Elisa also sweeps a great deal more than I do. . . . I couldnt prevail on her to go to Wendell P's lectures wh. we wldnt have missed for a great deal—we mean to go in and hear Curtis next week. . . ."

In April, 1865, the family was preparing for the golden wedding of "Jas. & self," and evidently trying to keep Lucretia from overdoing.

"I was makg over bed when Patty came and forced me away, just as if I was not far better able than she to 'stir around.' We have engaged the 3d girl to come on the 5th day. Our washes are very large—We have a washer and ironer every 2d and 3d day . . . the upholsterers are comg soon to begin in the 3d story wh is ready for them. . . ."

James Mott died in 1868. In the years immediately following,

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Lucretia was amazingly active for a woman nearing eighty. A visit to Swarthmore—"blessed be culture"—plus a lecture by Victoria Woodhull sends Lucretia's daughter to bed, but Lucretia loses only her voice. Victoria Woodhull had spread consternation among genteel suffragists by advocating free love. This letter is penned over an invitation for Lucretia to speak on temperance, November 5, 1870.

"6th day morning, 24th beautiful day—Carol. and L. McKim here . . . Anna H. to follow this morng. Maria not well but so much better she wouldnt let me tell—all the doings the day before were too much for her. . . . They went over both colleges—to the top of the house at Swarthmore puttg Aunt Martha out of breath—Then the foolish theatre in the eveng and the funeral yestery . . . for two hours she was pretty sick . . . and now says she is perfectly well, wh. I am *not*, for so many calls 4th day and talkg so much my voice left me at night and all day yestery I only whispered. . . . there was talk eno' without me. Victoria's lecture the abundant theme—Morris had felt like another man since hearg her— Edw Magill's wife came in on purpose not expectg to be much interested—Her appearance 1st astonished him—so different from the masculine creature he had fancied and her argument perfect. He was greatly pleased and so were several lawyers and knowg men and of course 'honorable women not a few'. . . ."

The chief suffrage personalities of the seventies now appear, both Stantons, H. B. and E. C., Susan B. Anthony, and, again, Victoria Woodhull, all along with the financial crash of 1873.

". . . H. B. Stanton's talk of the great expense of a Periodical and how many subscribers were needed to make it pay. Abolitionists . . . remember the repeated drafts to sustain the *Liberator*, *Standard*, *Freeman*, *Lundy's Genius* etc. The Boston Company took the *Liberator's* financial part into their own hands, and released Garrison from all care. We are sorry to see that Theodore Tilton is about to begin with another. He is in danger of runng himself into the ground. . . . What a pity . . . that Caroline Dennis let her share go beyond her control; women will be slow to learn to assume re-

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sponsibty, even of their own. Ever taught to confide and trust in men in pecuniary mattrs, they risk more than they ought to where they have no exercise of judgmt. Our mother had no faith in the French Creek works . . . and used to beg him [our father] to quit . . . but he went on . . . leavg his family poor. . . ."

But when Harriet Tubman, famous as a Negro "conductor" on the old Underground escape route, was beaten and robbed (1873) in a swindling scheme, Lucretia's pity for the victims is mixed with Nantucket-minded marvel at their credulity. "Poor Harriet Tubman's dreadful treatment," she wrote, "but such a fool of a man to risk such a sum if that was really so—glad this last date reports her nearly recov'd—as to the money, 'twas thine, tis his.' There's no other way. Poor North Pacific! A body's heart might ache forever.

"We are hopg that Walter B will not be a sufferer by the N. Y. failures—how few immediately retrench as Jay Cooke's family have —common honesty is so rare that great praise is bestowed where justice only shld be recognized—the press for money—how to meet engagements Edw says is equal to any former panic. . . ."

In 1871, Lucretia attended the banquet given for Jowett of Balliol, and later was hostess for the visiting Emily Faithfull, whose traveling companion was "a dread." Still going into Philadelphia for suffrage and peace meetings, Lucretia found Victoria Woodhull less reprehensible than certain congressmen.

". . . very slippery walkg but with good gums I didn't fall and break my back and head as thou did. . . . Edward D. is drummg up a party for S. B. Anthony who came yestery to the city and is havg parlor circles this eveng at Dr. Child's. . . . Edwd and Maria go to his meetg Sunday and bring here S. B. A. and S. Pugh and in the afternn have as large a gatherg as can be collected. . . . Just bought 2 large loads of hay $122. And several bushels of potatoes. . . .

"Went to Edward's Club meetg and met S. B. Anthony, heard a good speech from her. . . . She had one public meetg . . . yielded her $50. which we were glad to hear. For she makes great sacrifices and is a very clear good speaker. . . .

"The hateful wrong of her [Victoria Woodhull's] imprisonment

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I dont hesitate to speak of; E. C. Stanton is disposed to be very cautious how she identifies herself in any way with her now. Edward D. feels it is a hard case for poor Victoria. . . . What a 'whitewashing' in Congress! If all these greedy monopolizers by such wicked means can come off scot free, we neednt be afraid to give 'the Devil his due' in some other cases. . . . Edwd receives money for suffrage nearly every day and some for S. B. Anthony's law suit, but not much. . . ."

In 1872, Lucretia Mott journeyed to Boston where "the food was good," for the Free Religious conference. This was her last long trip, and her last public address.

". . . went that night, escorted by T. W. Higginson to an eveng meetg on the bus-s of Free Religion, which was interestg though nothg very special. . . . Ellen sick but finally able to go in the eveng at the festival . . . hearg good singg. . . . 6th day meetg not large (Tremont Hall) all the speakg save R. D. Owen, 20 minutes of spiritualism, very good. Samuel Longfellow's and F. E. Abbott's excellent. . . . Then the last 10 minutes my only effort was well received. . . . later tea and evening . . . no poor old lady was ever more happily welcomed. . . . Then 'if you wld only go to the platform and say five words' so the old goose did that, too, and begged the dear young people to simplify their costumes etc & such a huge boquet they brought me. . . ."

In her last years, Lucretia kept closely within the family circle. Her Roadside letters become more and more domestic, with only brief touches of the old flavor.

". . . the fashion of this day is needless anxiety for children.

". . . Sumner's death—how full the papers are in his praise as well they may be. . . . I wish we had more Sumners among our public men—his love for Emerson pleased me. . . . It [Sumner's death] filled our thoughts so that we almost forgot we had bought a new table cover—come and see it. . . . It seems very soon after thy sickness for thee to be spinng around and puttg all thy rooms in order—indeed 65 cannot do as 35 did and 80 worse and more of it. . . . Now

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scold as much as thou please about my writg on such scraps. . . . let it go for 85. . . .

"I can't tell much of the weddg—crowded parlors—many little first cousins. . . . Old Fred Lawton preached galore—his fashion—Deb'h Wharton a few good words . . . refreshments in the best style. . . .

"Our quiltg is done—only 8 days of steady work—I helped a little everydy—such as it was—contrastg rather with Maria's beautiful work—but she *played* satisfied. . . . We wish you had some of our 1000 bottles or less wine. . . . with endeared affection—*Mother.*"

Lucretia Mott died in 1880—eleventh day, eleventh month. Her only request was, "Let simplicity mark the last done for me."

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Flowering of the Southern Demagogue

REINHARD H. LUTHIN

DEEP BELOW Mason and Dixon's line during the past six decades there has blossomed a particular species of politician. Ingenious at oratory, flattery and invective, and evasive in discussing issues, such public men were elected to office by energetically practicing their profession of "man of the people."

Promising seemingly everything to everybody, proclaiming love for the "common man," preaching from Bibles, praising Founding Fathers and Confederate heroes, protesting against "nigger-lovin'" Yankees and Republicans, and purveying jokes, anecdotes, histrionics and hillbilly music, as they performed on the stump, in legislative halls, and before news reporters, these "demagogues" won hearts and votes. Talented actors, showmen and exhibitionists, they pandered to the pride and prejudices of poverty-pinched "wool hat and one gallus" white rural voters as they barked against county courthouse "rings" and town "machines" and merchants. Hardy perennials of Dixie politics, they took to the hustings in each Democratic campaign season. They attracted publicity by their picturesque personalities, distinctive dress, unorthodox electioneering, pointless programs, and "hot air" harangues.

The Populist period of the 1890's and the first half of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of such "men of the people" in numerous Southern states.

II

Southern demagoguery had roots in troubled post-Civil War soil.

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When the triumphant North tired of its "reconstruction" ardor, "carpet bag" and Negro state governments were overthrown in the South by terrorism, vote frauds, and other means, from Virginia all the way to Texas. Conservative "Bourbon" Democrats, led by former high-ranking Confederate officers, took control of Southern politics. By the mid-1880's, however, the ruling Bourbons heard rumbles of discontent from the poor farmers.

After the war many plantations had disintegrated. There grew up a system of land tenancy, in which laborers worked assigned tracts and shared produce with the landowner. Poverty was soon produced. By 1880 most of the Southern farmers were in debt. They blamed the Bourbons, who sympathized with the town merchants and commercial groups. Dissatisfaction with rule by the "well-born" flared. "The hold of the brigadier on the Southern heart-string is weakening," observed the Knoxville *Chronicle* in 1886.

Leadership in toppling Bourbon rule was provided by "men of the people," who detected political capital in arraying poorer rural white farmers against Bourbons, town merchants and bankers, and in preaching against Negro equality.

Representative of the angry passions of Tennessee agrarians were Robert Love Taylor and his brother, Alfred. Bob Taylor, a Democrat, had won a seat in Congress by telling anecdotes and playing a fiddle. In 1886 Bob opposed his brother, "Uncle Alf," for the governorship of Tennessee. In joint "debates" the brothers merely told anecdoes, quoted poetry, and played songs on their squeaky instruments. They delighted poverty-striken voters with "Rack Back Davy" and "Arkansas Traveler." More sedate citizens frowned upon the spectacle, but in such an era of "hard times" agrarians demanded that the brothers entertain them. Bob was elected governor over Alf.

Agrarian discontent, of which the Taylor brothers were expressions, continued with greater grimness. By 1890 "Populist" heroes appeared—Ben Tillman, Tom Watson and Jim Hogg.

Benjamin R. Tillman, South Carolina lawyer and depressed farmer, minus an eye lost in illness, avowed that he was the only one who possessed "the brains, the nerve and the ability to organize the common people against the aristocracy." He exhorted the dis-

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contented farmers to rise against town merchants and lawyers and to throw off General Wade Hampton's Bourbon rule. Underpossessed soil-tillers became mesmerized by Tillman's oratory. In 1890 Tillman ran for governor of South Carolina. The hinterland populace roared approvingly: "Give us Tillman!" and "Bring out the one-eyed ploughboy!" He was elected governor and was returned again in 1892. For an entire generation Tillman controlled Palmetto State politics. When he campaigned for United States senator, he yelled about the portly, conservative President Grover Cleveland: "I'll stick my pitchfork into his old fat ribs." He became "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman and died a federal senator.

Another Southern Populist demagogue was Georgia's Thomas E. Watson. Termed "the young man eloquent," Watson rallied the pauperized agriculturalists to action at the ballot box. In 1890 he ran for Congress in a contest in which he oratorically sounded the deathknell of monopolies, kissed babies, talked crops with men, and discussed fashions with women. The Cracker State's new idol easily won a seat in Congress and later had himself chosen for the United States Senate. Until 1922, when he passed away, Georgia politicians beat a path to his home, Hickory Hill, for Watson's favor or disfavor made or unmade numerous candidates.

In Texas, during the Populist years, James Stephen Hogg assumed a protectorate of sorts over the common people. Three hundred pounds in weight, he made capital out of his physique: a hog became his campaign symbol. On the hustings he emphasized that his father, a Confederate officer, had been killed by the Yankees. From the office of county attorney in East Texas, Hogg won the state attorney-generalship by preaching against corporations. In 1890 the Lone Star hinterlands hero was nominated for governor in a San Antonio convention over which waved a silk banner bearing a hog's picture. He was elected governor, and re-elected in 1892. He shouted to his rural disciples to "saddle old Betsy and ride among the neighbors" to get out the vote. The anti-Hogg Dallas *News* excoriated him as "the completest and most perfect specimen of the demagogue that the nineteenth and all other centuries have produced." But the "boys from the forks of the creek" viewed him as a Titan statesman.

Most Southern Populist leaders, such as Tillman, Watson and

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Hogg, exploited the Negro issue. Tillman became influential in disfranchising the Negro people in South Carolina. Watson embraced militant anti-Negroism when he supported Hoke Smith for the Georgia governorship in 1906, on a platform pledging the elimination of colored citizens from politics. Hogg, in his re-election campain in 1892, allowed his Texas followers to exploit the Negro suffrage issue.

During the Populist era between 1885 and 1900 political leadership in lower Dixie had undergone drastic transition. The voices of General Wade Hampton and other Bourbons were no longer heard in eulogy of the old order. Instead, there could now be heard the bombastic, anti-aristocratic, and anti-Negro tirades of Pitchfork Ben Tillman and other champions of "the people."

III

If demagoguery budded in the growth of "people's captains" during the Populist years, it flowered in the triumph of their successors.

Two successive presidential victories in 1896 and 1900 for the conservative Republican, William McKinley, over the Democratic, Populist-minded William Jennings Bryan, the "Great Commoner," registered thumping triumphs for "Northern" financial and industrial interests, with their insistence on "sound" gold-backed currency the protective tariffs and their tolerance of business monopolies. Agrarian groups considered themselves crowded out. "Wall Street" became the favorite whipping boy.

In the preponderantly agricultural South, protests broke out anew. Poverty, one-crop farming, landlordism, a Democratic one-party political system, intolerance of Republicans, the Negro question, unhealed wounds of Civil War and Reconstruction, and, now, continued exploitation by Northern capitalists and politicians—all these spawned a new crop of opportunistic, office-hungry demagogues in the early twentieth century, who used ruffian appeals to class and sectional hates. The hosts of demagogues who followed Tillman, Watson and Hogg were mavericks who waged warfare against the job-holding hierarchy of county courthouse "rings" and

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town machines, and who carried the Negro issue to more degrading levels. They kept the waters of public opinion churned muddy with invective. They offered programs which usually contained more wind than wisdom. Among the newer school who followed in the steps of Tillman, Watson and Hogg were Jim Vardaman, Jeff Davis, Tom Heflin and "Cotton Ed" Smith.

James K. Vardaman of Mississippi was given full play for his spellbinding talents when party primary elections replaced the traditional boss-dominated conventions. Face to face with the people under the recently adopted "direct primary" system, Vardaman dramatically let his long black hair flow down and dressed himself in white, symbolic of "white supremacy." In his 1903 Democratic primary campaign for the governorship he rode into towns in a huge wagon drawn by snow-white oxen. He installed himself as the "Great White Chief." Delivering some 700 speeches, he stamped down the rostrum, hair flying loose, his swelling voice resounding as he assailed education for Negroes. Vardaman won the primary, which meant election in one-party Mississippi. Soon Governor Vardaman went to the United States Senate. Until his death in 1930, the white soil-tillers of the Magnolia commonwealth envisioned a halo about the Great White Chief's broadbrimmed white hat.

Meanwhile, Jeff Davis was operating in neighboring Arkansas. Davis garbed himself in gray, not in white like Vardaman. With the same name as the late Confederate President, he wore a Prince Albert coat and hat of Confederate gray. He told voters of his poverty during his youth. Running for state attorney general, Davis became the first stumper to deluge voters of the remote Ozark Mountains with printed campaign matter. As attorney general, he fought the trusts and corporations. He proclaimed to his mountain admirers: "The war is on, knife to knife, hilt to hilt, foot to foot, knee to knee between the corporations of Arkansas and the people." In his 1900 race for governor, Davis did not visit the "courthouse" politicians. Instead, he visited every county and met the great body of voters. Davis assured his cheering followers that, unless they chose him governor, the trusts would grab their wives and children, take them away, and sell them back at greatly increased prices. He set country against town, denounced merchants, larruped the specter

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of the Negro, and eulogized "the fellows who wear patched breeches and one gallus and live up the forks of the creek." The new Messiah of the Ozarks carried seventy-four out of the state's seventy-five counties, was re-elected overwhelmingly in 1904, and then had himself sent to the United States Senate.

While Vardaman and Davis were talking and acting their way up to power, J. Thomas Heflin started performing in Alabama. Tom Heflin had spent his youth in East Alabama listening to stories of Yankee atrocities during Reconstruction. He became filled with biases against Republicans, corporations, "alien" European influences, and almost everything smacking of the North. In 1904 Heflin was elected to Congress. He demonstrated his devotion to "white supremacy" by shooting a drunken Negro in a Washington streetcar and sponsoring measures in the House for segregation of whites and Negroes on District of Columbia street cars. On the House floor he quoted from the Bible to prove that the Scriptures disapproved of the Republican party. He assailed Wall Street "bears" who deflated cotton prices, and encouraged the sobriquet "Cotton Tom." Dressed in a black Prince Albert coat, white vest, flowing black tie, with pince-nez dangling from ribbon, he would alternately bark or croon at his enemies, ever playing to the galleries. On the Alabama hustings he told funny stories and discussed few issues. In 1920 Heflin engineered his election to the United States Senate, where the rules for unlimited debate gave him full play. He defended motherhood, home and the Protestant religion. "Cotton Tom" developed an apopletic hatred of Catholics and "wets," even temporarily neglecting his tirades against Negroes, Wall Streeters, and Republicans to thunder at Rome and Rum. Alabama Democrats finally terminated Heflin's Senate career in 1930, using his "bolt" from Governor Alfred E. Smith's 1928 Democratic presidential candidacy as their main charge.

A vastly longer United States Senate tenure than that of "Cotton Tom" was that of "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina. Ellison D. Smith, after serving as an organizer of the Boll Weevil Convention, which founded the Southern Cotton Association, ran for the United States Senate in 1908. He campaigned atop a bale of cotton in a mule-driven wagon preceded by a blaring band. He wore

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a cotton boll in his lapel and publicly stroked the white-tipped bud fondly and chanted loudly: "My sweetheart, my sweetheart—others may forget you, but you will always be my sweetheart!" He was elected. He became "Cotton Ed" Smith. At Washington he shouted for states' rights, tarriff-for-revenue-only, and "white supremacy." He served six six-year terms, becoming the Senate's antediluvian. In every one of his contests he took to the stump in a mule-driven, cotton-heaped wagon.

Thus the early twentieth-century "school" of demagogues below the Mason and Dixon line, such as Vardaman, Jeff Davis, Heflin and "Cotton Ed" Smith, succeeded the chieftains of Populism of the 1890's. They had profitably used numerous tricks learned from idols like Tillman, Watson and Hogg.

IV

One melancholy fact was that the Populist leaders inspired a group of their own disciples to fierce ambition and hunger for high public office. Out of Tillman's following rose Cole Blease. Hogg inspired "Farmer Jim" Ferguson. Vardaman's most talented lieutenant was "The Man" Bilbo. The teachings of Watson influenced "Ole Gene" Talmadge.

Coleman Livingston Blease was elected as a Tillmanite to the South Carolina legislature in 1890 in a campaign comprising spell-binding appeals to "poor whites" against the corporations and the Negroes. The "direct primary," which Pitchfork Ben had done much to bring about, provided Blease with a forum for his forensic and gesticulating abilities. "Tell 'em about it, Coley!" shouted poor farmers and underpaid mill-workers—and Coley, a tall, raven-haired and -mustached figure, wearing a frock coat, striped trousers, and shoestring tie, would screechingly assail the hostile press, demand bigger Confederate pensions, and attack big business and Negro suffrage. He was chosen governor of South Carolina in 1910, and again in 1912. His administrations were filled with bickering with the legislature, charges of gross corruption against him, his wholesale granting of pardons to prisoners (including murderers and rapists) and his publicly expressed sanction of lynching. Blease, nevertheless, won a United States Senate seat in 1924.

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While Blease was still governor of South Carolina, James E. Ferguson was winning the same position in Texas. Prosperous lawyer, landlord and banker, "Farmer Jim" Ferguson won the Democratic primary election for governor of the Lone Star State in 1914 on a platform promising to regulate the rent paid by tenant farmers. Dressed impressively in a funereal black "claw-hammer" coat, he lauded the "common" farmer and denounced with choice invective his opponent because of the latter's membership in the Houston Country Club. One Fergusonite exulted: "Jim Ferguson is a second Jim Hogg. It's the old fight of the big interests and railroads against the people." Ferguson carried those counties which had been Populist strongholds in Hogg's day. Govenor Ferguson won a second term in 1916. In the following year he was impeached. The state Senate found him guilty of political interference in the affairs of the University of Texas, of depositing state funds in banks of which he was part owner, and of refusing to divulge the source of a personal "loan" of $156,000.

The impeached Governor of Texas became a mightier hero along the creek banks and in the piney woods, on plains and blackland farms, and in watertank towns. He commanded a "vest pocket" vote of almost 100,000, mostly among tenant farmers. In his weekly, *The Ferguson Forum*, he set about "vindicating" himself. Barred from holding state office again, "Farmer Jim" ran his wife, Miriam Amanda ("Ma") Ferguson, for governor in 1924, and succeeded in electing her. She acted as governor in name only, for Jim Ferguson became the only "governor by marriage" in the world. He used his wife's gubernatorial powers and patronage to promote his own fortunes. She pardoned criminals in the wholesale manner of Blease of South Carolina. Jim Ferguson was able to win her another gubernatorial term in 1932 by his demagogic harangues before his "vest pocket" voters.

Meanwhile, in Mississippi, Vardaman was producing a more intemperate demagogue than himself—Theodore G. Bilbo. A foul-mouthed little fellow who dressed in checked suit and red necktie as he went on the hustings, "The Man" Bilbo started his career in the Mississippi legislature. He attached himself to the Great White Chief. When Bilbo shouted and entertained from the

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platform, "red-necked" farmers yelled admiringly: "Hurrah for Vardaman! Hurrah for Bilbo!" The tradition-minded citizens deplored such idolatry. "It never occurred," bemoaned the Vicksburg *Herald*, "before this Vardaman and Bilbo craze broke out." In 1912 "The Man" was elected lieutenant-governor. When Vardaman left for his United States Senate seat in Washington, Bilbo became master of Mississippi's masses. Over the years, flaring across the piney-woods counties, he attacked the railroads, corporations and rich Delta planters, and preached militant "white supremacy." He had himself chosen governor twice and United States Senator thrice. His opponents called his later career and its effects the "Bilbonic Plague."

Rivaling Bilbo as an indefatigable crusader against Negro rights was the humorless, bristling, angry Eugene Talmadge of Georgia. Talmadge had breathed in the philosophy and methods of Tom Watson. While a student at the University of Georgia, Talmadge had memorized and recited the speeches of the Populist firebrand of Hickory Hill. In later years Talmadge told Ralph McGill of the Atlanta *Constitution* that he once walked ten miles to hear Watson. In 1926 Talmadge flashed his bespectacled eyes and snapped his red suspenders as he exhorted the "wool hat" boys to elect him state commissioner of agriculture. Depression-weary farmers, tired of the stock candidates, chose him for that office three times, and elevated him to the governorship of Georgia in 1932. "Ole Gene" was a leader in the image of the dead Watson, for whom the farmers' fathers had so often voted. By emotional appeals and unbridled anti-Negro tirades in the "counties where the street cars did not run," Talmadge won four gubernatorial terms, but passed away before beginning his fourth.

Governor Talmadge's administrations, 1933-37 and 1941-43, became torturous to forward-looking Georgians. He used ruthless tactics, ousting some anti-Talmadge state officials with the aid of troops, and disregarding the legislature and the courts on innumerable occasions. He ruled by executive decree in some instances. He imprisoned certain strike leaders in barbed-wire stockades similar to the concentration camps maintained by European dictators. His Excellency opened wide the penitentiary gates for

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dangerous criminals, via the pardoning power, in the tradition of Blease and the Fergusons. He allowed Ku Klux Klan elements wide freedom of action.

In the successes of Vardaman, Jeff Davis, Heflin, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Blease, Jim Ferguson, Bilbo and Talmadge, Southern demagoguery had reached full bloom.

V

Most successful and dangerous of all Dixie demagogues, however, was the sinister Louisiana Kingfish, Huey P. Long. No Tillman, Watson or Hogg had appeared in Louisiana to champion underprivileged Protestant hillbillies of the northern parishes or the poor Catholic Cajuns of the southern parishes until Long burst on the scene. Native of Winn Parish, which had been touched by Populism when he was an infant, Long, like others in the Parish, breathed in deep prejudices against the lumber dealers and public utilities when he was a young man. In 1928 he was elected governor of the Pelican State in a rowdyish contest of invective against the Standard Oil Company, public utility corporations, rural county courthouse "rings," and the "Old Regular" political machine of New Orleans. Two years later he had himself elected United States senator by a campaign of ridicule, invective, and reading from the Bible.

Despite some noteworthy and constructive acts as governor—such as his program of free school textbooks and construction of modern roads and bridges—the Louisiana Kingfish became a shameful figure. His screeching harangues on stump and over radio and in the United States Senate hall, his vote-luring "Share-Our-Wealth" panacea, and, particularly, his action in making Louisiana legislators his robots and transforming the state into something akin to a totalitarian "police state"—all these made him grimly similar to a modern European dictator.

Particularly obnoxious to educators and intellectuals generally was Governor Long's interference in the affairs of the public-supported Louisiana State University. In molding academic policy and seeking to control appointments of faculty members and administrators at L. S. U., Long was only doing what his counter-

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parts were doing or had done in other states. Blease, Ferguson, Bilbo and Talmadge—each of them as governor of his respective state had endeavored to control the state-supported university, either for patronage reasons or because he resented critical analysis of his administration from collegiate circles. In "Farmer Jim" Ferguson's case this had backfired, and he ended as an impeached governor of Texas. The forward-looking former governor of Georgia, Ellis G. Arnall, concludes in his book, *The Shore Dimly Seen*, "And yet the Southern demagogue can no more leave the educational system alone than can his European equivalent. It is the nature of the demagogue. Reading and writing are the two enemies that he fears most."

The assassination of Huey Long in 1935 did not end the age of demagoguery in the South. "Cotton Ed" Smith did not fall from power until his defeat in 1944. "The Man" Bilbo was elected for another Senate term in 1946, one year before his death. Talmadge won a fourth term in the Georgia governorship in that same year. And between 1938 and his retirement from the political arena in 1948, W. Lee ("Pass the Biscuits, Pappy") O'Daniel was victorious in two campaigns for the Texas governorship and two contests for the federal Senate.

As the South enters the second half of the twentieth century, demagoguery is by no means dead. The ghost of Huey Long rose out of his sunken tomb on the state capitol grounds at Baton Rouge and stalked across Louisiana again when his brother, Earl Long, was chosen governor and his son, Russell Long, became United States Senator in the past year. In Georgia, another political "Junior," Herman Talmadge, offspring of the departed "Ole Gene," was elected governor in 1948 by traveling the demagogic trail his father had blazed. In his recent successful contest for renomination in the Democratic primary, Senator Russell Long declared: "The day of the demagogue is over. I have no apologies to make for being the son of Huey Long or the nephew of Earl Long. They have both helped the people of our state."

It is clear, however, that the day of the demagogue will not be over until poverty, ignorance, the oppression of the Negro people, and memories of Civil War and reconstruction are removed.

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For Oaten Reed

HORACE E. HAMILTON

(*To be piped somewhat near a college campus*)

I sit in rooms on April eves,
I turn a dozen pages;
Beyond my window swallows
Dip; I earn my wages.

My heart goes out to all the lads
Who wrote these papers;
My step is light at classroom door,
And yet eschews the capers.

I remember, Boys, I reminisce,
April in my senior year;
The girl I plucked up violets for
Valued goldcups more dear.

And lads, the time of budding tree,
Of grasses newly sprung,
Is rather sad when you've been taken
And all your essence wrung.

Oh I can hear the phoebe too,
See beauties on the street;
But I think I like the grass the best
Because it's so discrete.

My wife has laid the table cloth,
The kids have heard spring thunder;
Perhaps I'll chase March hares with them
Before I quite go under.

✪ HORACE E. HAMILTON is the son of a medical missionary and was brought up in China. Dr. Hamilton teaches in the Department of English of Rutgers University.

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A Discussion of Modern Painting

III. The Mystics

EDGAR LEVY

THE PAINTER who finds himself unwilling or unable to meet the knotty and often bitter problems posed by an external, real world can take toward them the negative and destructive attitude represented by Expressionism. But this, as a preceding article indicated, requires the investment of psychic energy on a considerable scale and, by the evidence of such painters as Van Gogh, Munch, Kirchner, Soutine, is likely to be a painful and nerve-wracking enterprise. A more cloistered area is reserved for those who reject the material world but, whether through timidity, excessive sensitivity, or simple lack of energy, have no stomach for the immolation of Expressionism. The act of faith and intuition becomes their tower, and mystery the fluid with which they insulate themselves from the world. It is entirely without surprise that we note so many of our century's artists turning from the dangers and curses with which their course is beset to the consolations of mysticism.

For many of these painters Surrealism is a congenial climate. It exists as perhaps the only successful school of painting in our time that is not marked by reference to either Cubism or Expressionism. Though it now looks back on the work of many artists of older days who were intrigued by the grotesque, the strange and the mysterious, and claims them as its progenitors, Surrealism's direct impetus was received from less mellowed sources. These are fairly stated as being,

✪ For the past twenty years, except for an interval during the war, EDGAR LEVY's paintings have been shown in galleries and museums in New York and elsewhere. Mr. Levy had a one-man show early in 1949.

This is the third and last in a series of three articles on modern painting by Mr. Levy. The first, "The Classical and Romantic Tempers," appeared in the Autumn number, and the second, "Expressionism and Cubism," in the Winter number.

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first, the "metaphysical" paintings of Giorgio de Chirico, and second, the work of the Dada group of painters and writers. The Chirico pictures from about 1911 to 1934, with their weirdly assorted contents, are the product of a mind and eye clearly given to the mystic. A clue to Surrealism is offered by Chirico when he writes, "We experience the most unforgettable moments when certain aspects of the world, whose existence we completely ignore, suddenly confront us with the revelation of mysteries lying all the time within our reach and which we cannot see because we are too shortsighted, and cannot feel because our senses are inadequately developed."

The Dada group was differently motivated, but its work shares the strangeness of Chirico's. It developed as a consequence of the First World War and the hopeless disillusionment of the artists and writers who subscribed to the movement. Their aim was nothing less than the destruction of all values, not only artistic, but social and moral as well. Thus it produced such anomalies as Duchamp's painting a mustache on a reproduction of the Mona Lisa, the same artist's exhibit of a urinal signed "R. Mutt," Picabia's ink blot which he called "La sainte vierge," Max Ernst's irrational collections of cut-out and pasted-up photographes and engravings, Kurt Schwitters' "Merz" paintings, Hans Arp's totally abstract amoebic-shaped constructions, and others showing a wide range of styles; alike in their contempt not only of traditional techniques, but of traditional values as well. It was a movement in the deepest sense anti-artistic, and it is a matter for irony that from it so self-consciously artistic a school as Surrealism drew substance.

The flouting of the rational and the combination of the most heterogenous articles in a single work was carried by Dada to a greater extreme than Chirico ever ventured. On these devices Surrealism seized. But more than ideas were transmitted from Dada to Surrealism. Some of the major personalities passed from the one to the other, notably Hans Arp, Max Ernst, Marcel Duchamp and André Breton, the writer who has been the group's chief spokesman and one of its strongest influences. Yves Tanguy and Salvador Dali, who for most people are *the* Surrealists, joined the movement in the later 1920's. Also associated with Surrealism have been Joan

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Miro, André Masson, René Magritte, Pierre Roy and many others.

Without a doubt the common denominator of Surrealism is the atmosphere of dream reality it so cleverly and disturbingly contrives. The instruments it uses for this effect are many and varied, but chief among them is the irrelevant character of its ensembles, the fantastic shaping of its individual objects and the placing of these in backgrounds that are penetrated by the remote light of the dream. Great technical facility has been developed by Surrealist painters in the service of their visions, but in general they have favored academic rather than modern techniques. This choice is readily equated with the Surrealists' desire for the nostalgic and removed. Linear perspective, for instance, having for the most part passed into disuse, suggests itself to the Surrealist, and as often as not he employs it in an exaggerated way. A fine attention to detail is another faculty the Surrealist prizes. He uses a precision not attempted by a vital art form since the days of Vermeer, barely equalled then, and wholly foreign to the impatient handwork of today. The Surrealist effectiveness of such procedures is greatly enhanced by their divergence from the methods which, since Impressionism, we have come to regard as in accord with modern seeing.

Then too, there is the "literary" flavor of Surrealist work. Painting has long discarded or, at most, conferred little importance on the story-telling function. If this tendency has been permitted to reappear in certain sections of contemporary painting, it is due in considerable measure to the proselytizing of Surrealism. The Surrealists freely admit the affinity of their work with that other product of the unconscious made tangible—the dream. Whatever the ultimate components of the dream may be, its form is dependent on words and their multiple associations, and its images need to be translated back into words to be made comprehensible. Yet this is the model for Surrealism; it follows Freud in acceptance of the dream as an art-work, and it encourages automatism in painting. Its aesthetic centers on the accommodation of the will to the uninterrupted flow of material from the unconscious. It strives for a permanent trance state in order to accomplish this—Dali has called his method "paranoiac-critical."

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Its difference from Dada consists in a positive set of values, however irrational, as opposed to the other's iconoclasm. But, by its subjugation of reason, by its rejection of conscious control beyond the minimum necessary to its physical being, by a terminology that delights in such words as "enigma," "magic," "mystery," "ecstasy," and by its dependence on revelation, its character is made clear. By these signs and by its turning from contemporary techniques to those that are outmoded, veiled with nostalgia and suggestive of the infinitely indefinite, we know it as mysticism.

At first glance what a wide difference appears between the unrestricted imagining of the Surrealists and the circumscribed productions of the Non-objective painters! ("Non-figurative" to the more recondite.) The Non-objectivists stem from two main sources, sources which are typical of a division in Non-objective work. One of these is Wassily Kandinsky, who died in Paris in 1944; the other is Piet Mondrian, whose death occurred in New York in the same year.

Kandinsky's first impulse in painting was toward Expressionism, and in the period before 1910, during which he was active in Munich art circles, he produced creditable Expressionist landscapes. Sometimes in 1910 or 1911 he began to make pictures in which forms and colors were divested of all reference to things in the visible world. Into these compositions he carried a broad Expressionist technique so that the effect is of a disordered mingling of a confusion of lines, tints and vaguely realized shapes. In the early 1920's his art changed somewhat; the forms crystallized into harder, though not quite geometric shapes, the lines became straight or regularly curved, the colors more pure and less modulated. His work retained, nevertheless, the Expressionist sense of undisciplined and spontaneous conception.

On the other hand, Mondrian is said to have come to his Non-objectivism through the assimilation of Cubist techniques. A year or so later than Kandinsky's first Non-objective efforts—that is, around 1912—Mondrian began to make compositions in which straight lines and little if any color combined in a paucity of statement that was intended to exclude everything "alive" or connected with appearance. This occupation led him very rapidly to the formulations

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for which he is best known, those hygienic arrangements of primary colors marked off from each other by ruled black lines of uniform thickness. In these pictures only verticals and horizontals are allowed, never diagonals, and never, *never* any curves. By dint of abstaining for many years from absolutely any other kind of expression than this, Mondrian was able, shortly before his death, to create a sensation with his "Boogie-Woogie" paintings. In these the uniform black lines have been replaced by equally uniform lines (still strictly vertical and horizontal) but these lines have been subdivided into rectangular sections of primary colors.

It would seem that the division of Non-objective work into these two sorts, one irregular, uncontrolled or hardly controlled, depending largely on chance effects, the other highly regular, rigidly geometric, and carefully premeditated, would signify that Non-objective art is broad enough to embrace the Expressionist and the Cubist extremes, the Romantic and the Classicist tempers. No greater mistake could be made. For the discipline, the adherence to codes and principles pretended by the rigidly pure disciple of Mondrian, is wholly specious.

A discipline does not exist by and for itself; one cannot conceive of a disciplined act without the context of direction and purpose. In painting, this purpose may be generally stated as the effecting of alterations in the visible universe. It may take the form of creating totally new entities, as some proponents of Non-objectivism claim for their art. But it is clear that even objects that have had no prior existence must have reference to things in experience, if they are to convey meaning (and this includes the evocation of attitudes). For painting such reference must be made through a capacity of things for visual representation. Only two classes of things have this capacity —the forms of nature and the forms of geometry. Visual reference simply cannot be made without using one or the other or both of these. If natural forms are to be precluded, as we can well assume they are in the case of Mondrian, geometric forms alone are left. Therefore we are required to believe that something is stated or implied in these pictures through a geometric symbolism, not necessarily in mathematical terms, but using the forms elaborated by mathematics. The question then raised is: To what extent can these forms

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be used to communicate visual messages and thus be subject to an art discipline?

Unfortunately for the painter, the forms made palpable by geometry are not primarily visual, but are in every case the result of symbolic reasoning. They are the subject of a prior discipline and are thus already encumbered with associations. A square is essentially a measured entity, a quantity multiplied by itself. A circle is the locus of a particular conic equation, or it is a line equidistant at all points from another point. If we admit it to be moon, or a head, we are transgressing—the Non-objectivist wants his forms "pure." But if it is not possible for art to use geometric forms, *qua* geometric forms, as the purely visual entities the Non-objectivists pretend they are, the whole fabrication of a disciplined aesthetic working toward a visual end falls to pieces. If we hypothecate that art may be produced by a process involving mathematical relations, we are in even worse case. Aside from the immediate objection that such a process tends to science rather than to art, there is the fact that the mathematics of the Non-objective painters is something less than inspired, and as often as not they adopt a mystic attitude toward that science that would have pleased Pythagoras, though he would have been appalled by the level of their mathematical invention. Lest this suggest that they need to be better mathematicians to be better painters, it should be pointed out that either occupation, mathematics or painting, if it is to lead to rich results, is a full-time job; one must be content with one or the other.

So much for the mathematical pretensions of the Non-objectivists, and so much, too, for the pretense of one sort of Non-objectivist that his art is carefully considered, ordered and disciplined. The making of dozens of preparatory sketches, the measuring of shapes on graph paper, and the assiduous application of the straight edge and compass prove nothing but the fantastic ability of some of these painters for self-deception and busy-work. After all, *what* are they measuring? What guarantee do they offer that their measurements are less guided by chance than the work of colleagues who practice the looser type of Non-objectivism? The seriousness with which these painters are taken by our art critics is as empty as the painting is dull. For it is not seriousness but heaviness, untouched by humor

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or imagination, that appears in our art magazines and columns. Each month provides us with a new *reductio ad absurdum*. (See the November, 1950, issue—current at this writing—of *Art News* for an article about Josef Albers, one of the well-known makers of Non-objective art.)

Let us proceed to the possibility that in this art, although the forms are geometric, the aesthetic process is accomplished in the relation between them, and, further, that this relation is of a non-mathematical character. Even if we are unwise enough to believe that relations in the picture can be divorced from substantives, we are bound to inquire what these relations may be. Some of the claptrap dealing with Non-objective art tries to tell this. To quote these vagaries would be manifestly unfair to the artists concerned; Non-objective art is seldom as fatuous as the writing that defends it. But our curiosity on this subject will lead us to an interesting and unexpected discovery. For, pondering all the visual relations that can possibly obtain in a picture, we will learn to our surprise that they are of an order that can only be described as protomathematical. What are these relations? They are those of size, distance, direction, place, quantity, and so forth. Even when the relation consists of a juxtaposition to produce illusion, the illusion is of this character—an illusion of third-dimensionality, for instance, or of divergence from a geometric datum, as in "optical" illusions.

It is the ordering of these relations that produces decorative values in art work, values dependent on qualities such as rhythm and balance —qualities which are in turn dependent on a faculty much more profound than either art or mathematics, and without which neither could exist. This is the tendency to repetition, which Freud believed to be the most fundamental characteristic of the mind, and which Whitehead asserted dominated the whole life of Nature. That it is basic to the design of a picture is easily demonstrated; words like rhythm and balance, key words in the description of design, leave us no doubt on that score. In Whitehead's term—periodicity—it is at once recognized as the *sine qua non* of mathematics. It affords little wonder, then, that the visual perception of this underlying pattern, whether in a great bridge, a well-made tool, a fine carpet, or in a painting, is attended with deep satisfaction.

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But it is clear, since this quality may be found in any object elegantly adapted to its function, that though it is necessary to art, it is neither specific to it nor sufficient to endow a picture with aesthetic virtue. Thus the Non-objectivists, though they may make handsome decorations, fall short of art.

This is, of course, as true of the Non-objectivists who follow the early Kandinsky in vague splotching, uncontrolled except by the development of automatic effects and the limitations of possibility, as it is of the virtuosos of the T-square. Since their shapes are not geometric, the impulse to find counterparts for them in the natural world is, for many observers, irrepressible. But their ambiguity is such as to forbid the success of this undertaking; it is as aesthetically rewarding as discerning an elephant in the shape of a cloud or the outlines of a lobster in a crack in a wall.

Not all Non-objectivists of this stamp intend their work to be ambiguous. Many claim for their pictures the property of an immediate experience on an irreducible level. This implies that it is possible to dissociate color and form from the objects with which they are connected in the visible world, and construct with them a new vocabulary—primary, so that it will connote referents without reduction, and exact, so that it will fix and communicate such referents or combinations of referents as will engage to art. To arguments like these, the final answer must always be that the pudding is proved in the eating. On those who have tasted it and profess themselves convinced weighs the burden of proof. They must show that they are neither satisfying themselves with the apperception of felicitous decoration plus the skill with which it is achieved—neglecting a higher order of accomplishment, such as was designated in our last article as "celebration"—nor that they are partaking of the ethereal beneficences granted by mystic revelation. So far they have failed to do so and, as a matter of fact, their expressed appreciation seems to divide itself about equally into the two types given. Herein lies the explanation of the success of Non-objective painting with certain groups of gallery-goers (substracting the small but influential clique whose snobbism thrives on the obscure). The mystics especially are fervid spreaders of the Non-objective doctrine, and their attitudinizing has impressed itself in many quarters where mysticism

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has understandably furnished a retreat from problems and tensions that are too difficult to contemplate. But these acolytes are cheating themselves. They would be better advised to follow Surrealism, whose mysticism is more explicit, and vastly more entertaining, than the aridities of the Non-objectivists.

★ ★ ★

In the course of these articles we have managed to pigeonhole the several advanced manifestations of contemporary painting. This task of classification, while deprecatingly held and onerous, is clearly the duty of criticism, and with respect to modern art is long overdue. It is rather a pity that this first attempt should have been made by an artist. However, though it may be faulty in some of its judgments, it has at least the merit of recalling to criticism what one of its proper functions should be—that of clarification and instruction.

To this end we have seen Cubism as Classicism, Expressionism as Romanticism, the Surrealist and Non-objective schools as Mystic, which probably makes them Romantic too. Some important painters are outside this system. Henri Matisse, Raoul Dufy, and the late Emil Bonnard, giants in artistic stature, have brought to us with undiminished force the elegance and virility of nineteenth-century painting. Paul Klee created during his lifetime a fabric of many painting resources, devoted nearly exclusively to the service of wit. Many artists, but above all the gracious Henri Rousseau, have freely given us the direct and sweet benefits of naïve vision.

Fortunately for art, there are other directions and formulations that are too much in the process of becoming to be pinned down. In the work of most artists the technical discoveries turned up by the various tendencies are being assimilated and possibly synthesized into new forms. Picasso, approaching seventy, is still a vigorous and mighty influence. Fresh and delightful insights about the visible universe flow from his brush. In his work, as in the work of few others, the germ of future painting is contained. And it is of the essence of this forward-moving substance that it defy classification. In fact, for the man who loves art, the role of classification is to strip, as expeditiously as possible, the scaffolding with which the structure is built, and reveal to him what new, affectionate and human things his comrade, the artist, has to say.

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Goethe for America

WOLF FRANCK

ONE EVENING in the spring of 1819 in the Thuringian town of Weimar a few friends gathered, as they often did, in the house of the oldest among them, a state minister nearing his seventieth year. At one point in the conversation the host said: "If we were twenty years younger, we would sail for North America," to which another replied dryly, "And if we were *thirty* years younger, it still wouldn't do any harm."

The man who seriously expressed this Faustian longing for America was Goethe. That his longing was serious, is beyond doubt; his growing interest in the young republic was only to increase during the remaining thirteen years of his life, until he came to see in America the ultimate hope for occidental civilization. While Goethe recognized that, as a German author, he was tied to Germany and her people, he also recognized that the German situation was growing increasingly complicated. In December, 1813, he declared in a famous conversation with the historian Luden of Jena: "A comparison of the German nation with other nations causes embarrassment which I try to overcome in every way. It is in science and in the arts that I have found the wings by which it is possible to rise above it. . . ." And two years later Goethe bluntly said to a collector of medieval art: "If during forty or fifty years one could exclude everything external what would and should one produce! What would have resulted if I had gone with a few friends to America thirty years ago and had not heard of Kant, etc.?"

Of course, America was not a new discovery for the sixty-six year old Goethe. Already in his autobiography he had written: "The world was even more keenly interested when a whole nation made

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efforts to free itself . . . one wished Americans all good luck, and the names of Franklin and Washington began to shine and glow in the political and military sky."

In 1810, Goethe had his first American visitor. He was Aaron Burr, who was traveling through Europe to find backing for his adventurous plans in the New World.

In the meantime Goethe had studied more closely the physical conditions of the American continent. Alexander von Humboldt had published *Upon the Geography of Plants*, which he dedicated to Goethe. The book was supposed to contain a map comparing the altitudes of the Old and New World. But it was lacking, and Goethe supplied and later published it. From that time on he indefatigably took every opportunity to enlarge his knowledge of the physical geography of the American continent.

After 1816, Goethe was no longer limited to reading about America: a small but steady stream of Americans came to his house, mostly students from New England who were more or less closely connected with Harvard University; they made their headquarters at the University of Göttingen.

Goethe's first two student visitors were Edward Everett and George Ticknor. Everett (1794-1865) was already holding a chair at Harvard, but continued his studies in Europe and was the first American to receive a Ph. D. in Göttingen (1817). When Everett and Ticknor came to Goethe in October, 1816, they were simply two young men recommended by the letters of introduction which some of their professors at Göttingen had given them. Goethe, however, received them cordially.

The following March another pair of American students found their way to Goethe. One of them, Joseph Green Cogswell, was studying in Göttingen, while the other, Augustus Thorndike, was being tutored by Cogswell. Cogswell (1786-1871) who came closer to Goethe than any other of his personal American acquaintances, was later librarian, as well as professor of mineralogy and geology at Harvard. He founded with George Bancroft the famous Round Hill School in Northampton, Mass., and was instrumental in the founding of the Astor Library in New York (1848), the nucleus of the New York Public Library, ultimately becoming its first librarian.

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Cogswell is the first to give us Goethe's views on America in general. "Soon after being introduced to him," Cogswell reports, "with the politeness of a real gentleman, he turned the conversation to America, and spoke of its hopes and promises, in a manner that showed it had been the subject of his inquiries, and made juster and more rational observations, upon its literary pretensions and character, than I ever heard from any man in Europe."

Cogswell had promised Goethe to send him American publications of interest, as well as minerals, and dispatched to him the *Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology* by Parker Cleaveland (1780-1858)—the first American work of its kind (1816). The poet esteemed it so highly that Cleaveland was named "foreign honorary member" of the Mineralogical Society in Jena, of which Goethe was president.

In October, 1817, Goethe received for the first time an American visitor whose letter of introduction was from an American. The caller was Theodore Lyman (1792-1849), who later became mayor of Boston. His letter of introduction was written by Edward Everett, Goethe's visitor of the year before. Everett now urged Goethe "to favour us, with any Volume of your Writings, you may chance to have at hand, and to address it in your own handwriting to our Library. . . ."

Everett's request was granted by the poet two years later, but the person who received the gift for Harvard was Cogswell. In May, 1819, Cogswell appeared again in Weimar and shortly afterwards Goethe asked him in a letter "where you want me to address the long-promised shipment of my poetic and scientific writings which I dedicate with pleasure to your institute in your native land, in order to establish my memory overseas." The moment for such a transaction was particularly propitious, as the twenty-volume edition of Goethe's collected works, started four years before, had just been completed. He added sixteen separate publications to it and shipped the whole collection in August, accompanied by a note which begins with a list of the titles, and continues as follows: "The above poetical and scientific works are presented to the library of the University of Cambridge in N. England, as a mark of deep Interest in its high literary Character, & in the successful Zeal it has displayed thro' so long

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a Course of Years for the promotion of solid & elegant education. With the high respects of the Author J. W. v. Goethe. Weimar Aug. 11, 1819."

The year 1819 was also significant for Goethe's relation to America in connection with geology. For some reason Goethe did not like basalt, and was pleased to find that basalt formations were unknown in North America. Thus, some geological notes which he wrote in September, 1819, included the following two lines: "The North Americans are lucky not to have any basalt formations. No ancestors and no classical foundations." This outlook continued to develop. After reading in 1822 Struve's *Contributions on the Mineralogy and Geology of North America,* just published, the poet noted: ". . . by the way, this continent is to be congratulated because it lacks volcanic effects, through which the geology of the new world shows a much more solid character than that of the old where nothing seems to be on firm footing any more." Finally this train of thought which saw nature and man equally free from the burden of an unhealthy past found its classic expression in his famous poem written in 1827:

TO THE UNITED STATES

America, thy lot was cast by powers
Happier than those of our old Continent;
Thou hast no ruined towers,
No basalt monument.
Thy heart endures no pain,
In the heydey of life,
From memories that are vain,
Unprofitable strife.

Then use the present happily!
And when your child thirsts for poetic glories,
May some good genius keep him free
From knights, from robbers, and from ghost stories!

American visitors kept coming to Goethe. Shortly after Cogswell had seen him for the last time, George Bancroft called on the poet. In 1825, George H. Calvert visited him—the first American caller who was not from New England. Calvert (1803-1889) was a descendant of Lord Baltimore as well as of the painter Rubens. He pub-

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lished a work on Goethe in 1872. His account of a conversation with Goethe shows the poet in another light. John Quincy Adams had just been elected President of the United States, and Goethe questioned his visitor about the mode and forms of election.

Some time before, an Emerson—William, elder brother of Ralph Waldo—had called on Goethe. In 1826 followed William Dwight, one of the sons of Timothy Dwight, the president of Yale College. Among later American visitors of Goethe might be mentioned: Edward Robinson (1794-1863), a pioneer in Biblical geography; Albert Brisbane, later a Fourierist, and father of Arthur Brisbane; and J. Burton Harrison from Lynchburg, Va., a friend of James Fenimore Cooper. Goethe's last American visitor (in 1831) was an "American from Portsmouth" whose name seems to have been Haven.

During the same period, the establishment of the German-American Mining Corporation, in which Karl August, the Grand Duke of Weimar, had invested, furthered in many respects Goethe's knowledge of North America. In the realm of literature, the excellent French periodical *Le Globe* kept Goethe informed. A mention of Washington Irving led him to read *The Sketch Book*. When *Le Globe* praised *The Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper, which had just been published, Goethe ordered at once all the available works of Cooper, and had soon read six of his novels.

The deep impression Cooper's art made on Goethe was recorded by him in several ways. In his diary he wrote: "I admire the rich material and the adroit treatment; not many works have been carried through with so much knowledge and such consistency as the Cooper novels." And in a literary essay Goethe called upon prospective writers to use *Ludwig Gall's Emigration to the United States* as material for a novel, and explained that such writers "should have the ambition to compete with Cooper and try to gain the clearest understanding of these subjects in America. . . . As to the kind of characters, never has an epic or dramatic poet had such a rich choice. The dissatisfied of both continents are at his disposal . . . when his favorites are well taken care of, he can let the rest of the characters be satisfied with very moderate conditions in various degrees." Goethe at least tried in his way to follow his own advice in the last version of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*.

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But even before this, being introduced to the art of Cooper had helped Goethe find the way to a work of his own, a way which he had been searching for the previous thirty years. Now, at the age of seventy-seven, he was young enough to learn a lesson from his American colleague. In 1797, Goethe had conceived the idea for a new epic poem, but he wondered whether the subject could be treated in an epic manner. By 1826, Cooper's *Pioneers* had supplied the answer. They showed him how the basic polarity between man and universe, between man and the demonic, had been overcome in the United States: it is the problem of the pioneer. Goethe carried out, almost without effort, what he had not been able to accomplish for so long. He even transposed some of Cooper's ideas into his own work. The content of this *Novelle* cannot be summarized here because of its conciseness; it must suffice to say that its central idea likens it to the parable of Daniel in the lion's den, to which Goethe specifically refers in the work.

Unfortunately, Cooper was not aware that a great admirer of his was living in Weimar. When he passed through the town in 1830, it impressed him only as ridiculous, and he left as soon as possible.

While Goethe worked on the *Novelle*, he was reading the diary of Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who had only recently returned from America. Bernhard (1792-1862) was the second son of the Grand Duke Karl August. In July, 1825, he visited North America, where he remained for nearly a year. He met John Adams, Jefferson and John Quincy Adams, and Goethe's old acquaintances as well: Everett in Boston, Cogswell and Bancroft at the Round Hill School, and, in Washington, the father of George H. Calvert, who had just been in Weimar. In New York he also called on Aaron Burr. The Duke gathered excellent information about the country and the people, and kept a copious diary.

For Goethe this diary confirmed in one comprehensive picture what he had gathered bit by bit through the years. If the year 1819 had already been outstanding for his relation to America, this was matched and surpassed by the year after the Duke's return from America. Besides the happenings already mentioned, Goethe made in this year his famous prophecy on the Panama Canal and the future of the United States; Eckermann records: "Dined with Goethe. He

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spoke much, and with admiration, of Alexander von Humboldt . . . whose views as to the project for making a passage through the Isthmus of Panama appeared to have a particular interest for him. . . . Goethe said '. . . I should be surprised if the United States were to let an opportunity escape of getting such work into their own hands. It may be foreseen that this young state, with its decided tendency westward, will, in thirty or forty years, have occupied and peopled the large tract of land beyond the Rocky Mountains. . . .' "

In the same year Goethe had decided on the final version of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*. This novel became his testament in prose. His testament in verse was of course the second part of *Faust*, in which the creed of Faust is formulated in a final monologue. We do not know when Goethe wrote these lines, but there is good reason to suppose that they belong to this period. For, after Bernhard's return, Goethe wrote on the occasion of the former's reappearance in the Weimar masonic lodge to which both the prince and the poet belonged, a poem with the title, "To the happily enriched homecomer from America . . ." and this poem reflects, in letter as well as spirit, the same world, the same ethics, the same faith as Faust's last monologue.

Goethe most vividly incorporated his final faith in America in *Wilhelm Meister*. To the completion of this novel and of *Faust* Goethe had devoted his entire life. Both parts of the novel, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* and *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, have a similar history in so far as they were preceded by preliminary versions; in each, only the final version deals with America. But the idea of America is treated in the two novels in opposite ways. In *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, the emigrant to America returns to the old Continent saying to himself: "I believed I could accomplish something in America. . . . How differently I now look on things. . . . I will return and in my house, in my orchard, in the midst of my people say: here or nowhere is America!" But in the *Travels* America has become the only hope of the future, and almost without exception the characters, including the homecomer from the *Apprenticeship*, leave in the end for the New World.

The first work of the Wilhelm Meister series, dealing with the stage and called *Wilhelm Meister's Theatrical Mission*, Goethe fin-

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ished in 1785. When he thought again of *Wilhelm Meister*, the world had changed through the French Revolution, and the *Theatrical Mission* was turned into the *Apprenticeship*, the apprenticeship for life. A New World was now also possible in Europe, and therefore Goethe's Lothario comes back from overseas with the conviction: "Here or nowhere is America!"

A quarter of a century later everything had again changed, and Goethe counted himself and his few remaining friends among "the last of an epoch which will not so soon return again." So when he published the continuation of his novel, *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, in 1821, he gave it the subtitle *The Resigned Ones*. But resignation with him never meant passivity; it signified activity within the realms of possibility, and he had resigned himself to the limits of possibility without nourishing any illusions. The concluding chapter of the *Travels* consists of a speech by Lenardo, one of the leaders of the secret association to which the characters belong—a speech of farewell in which he exhorts his companions to travel among men in order to be useful to them, making it perfectly clear that his admonition to travel does not mean going overseas.

But five years later, Lenardo changed his mind because Goethe had now discovered the goal for him and his companions: America. He revised the novel, and the final version of the*Travels*, published in 1829, is almost twice as long as the first. New chapters and passages have been inserted throughout in order to prepare the reader for the new outlook. Thus Lenardo declares: "You encourage me to confess that in reality I do not like to work at anything but what I have myself created. . . . I will also willingly confess that I am irresistibly drawn toward primitive conditions . . . that my imagination seeks pleasure beyond the sea. . . ." And Wilhelm Meister, to whom these words are addressed, replies: "I have nothing to object to this. An idea of this kind, turned toward what is new and unsettled, has something original and great about it."

When finally almost the entire group has been sent overseas by the poet, Goethe stops the narrative: "They started under favorable auspices, and it is to be hoped that a favorable wind fills their sails. . . . Their task hitherto has only been a preparation to the great undertaking upon which we see them embarking."

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Goethe does not deal with them again. But he still outlined the basic principles on which the new society was to be built: ". . . our moral theory . . . is purely a matter of deeds, and it is comprised in the few commandments: Moderation in what is arbitrary, diligence in what is necessary. . . . The main thing is always only this, that we take with us over there the advantages of the culture and leave behind its disadvantages."

Wilhelm Meister himself does not accompany his friends to the new continent, but the possibility that he will follow them one day remains open. He clearly distinguishes between old and new, past and future, right and wrong: "In the old world it is all humdrum. . . . This conflict which I announce between the dead and living will be for life and death. . . . Foresight and prohibition in such cases are of no avail—one must begin from the beginning."

Goethe did not change the subtitle of the novel, *The Resigned Ones*, for, with all his hopes for the New World, he held that resignation was indispensable to a new beginning. And he considered this beginning from scratch a necessity. That is why he called his fellow men to America, to the New World. But in doing so, in fusing poetic imagination and reality, utopia and action, nothing was further from him than political preaching. "If a poet would work politically," he said in his very last conversation with Eckermann, "he must give himself up to a party; and so soon as he does that, he is lost as a poet; he must bid farewell to his free spirit, his unbiased view, and draw over his ears the cap of bigotry and blind hatred. The poet, as a man and citizen, will love his native land; but the native land of his poetic powers and poetic action is the good, noble and beautiful, which is confined to no particular province or country, and which he seizes upon and forms wherever he finds it."

When Goethe ultimately called his fellow men to America, he seized upon "the native land of his poetic powers and poetic action."

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Like a Sitting Breeze

PETER VIERECK

It was my cruel crossroads: duel or fall.
Say: "loveliest of trees, the cherry now."
O say it: "because I do not hope to turn again,"
Therefore I'll choose no farther than these petals fall.

It was my cruel hour. Choice is now,
And neither way will lead to Loveliest again.
I want to stop. Stop here where the petals fall.
Suspend me in this choiceless Now.

If all the spilt petals could climb like crabs up the tree again,
If hoverers could wait where they want and never ever fall,
I'd stay. Like a sitting breeze, I would. But (petal-treading now)
I'm off to the lonely duel by the water's edge again.

(over)

✪ Professor of history at Mt. Holyoke College, PETER VIERECK is a Pulitzer Prize winner for poetry. New editions of his books, *Strike through the Mask, Terror and Decorum,* and *Conservatism Revisited,* have recently been printed.

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Correspondence Relating to "Like a Sitting Breeze"*

by Peter Viereck

Dear Mr. Viereck:

The plain, simple truth is I'll be blamed if I know what it means. I have even been able, in the past, to figure out some of the more obscure gents of our time, but study this as I would, I didn't get it.

How is this for a proposition? You give me a précis and I'll see if I can't reconsider it. Nobody else would, I suppose, have the gall to suggest this to one of the leading poets of our time, but I have. Meanwhile, I'll hold that poem until I hear from you.

HIRAM HAYDN

The Author's Reply:

To save space and time, I shall not attempt to suggest the various implications, connotations and secondary meanings, which for the author are the *most* satisfying part of a poem, namely its magic. Instead, I shall confine myself to the plain primary meaning, even at the risk of oversimplification. If the poem had as parenthetical subtitle "The Artist's Rejection of *l'Art pour l'Art*," then perhaps this clear primary meaning would speak for itself. And if Mr. Haydn very much prefers to have this subtitle, I'll agree. But if left to me, I'd rather not have so pedantically explicit a parenthetical paraphrase ("the heresy of paraphrase").

The "cruel crossroads" is the crossroads of choice facing any artist or beauty lover. The choice is between (1) duty, life of action and conflict, moral responsibility, and (2) pure aesthetic contemplation, no duty, no action, no ethical issue; sheer *l'art pour l'art*. Choice (1) is symbolized by the lonely duel at the water's edge, the loneliness of personal responsibility, the duel of any Armageddon, political or personal or cultural or ethical, that faces you in the life of action and citizenship. Choice (2) is symbolized by the cherry-tree petals, sheer grace and delight, but the delight of amoral irresponsible escapism.

The escapism of the pure aesthete is then described in various metaphors, showing how attractive this solution is, as well as how futile. "I'll choose no farther than these petals fall," means: I'd like to avoid a life of action such as takes place outside the "ivory tower" of these lovely falling petals; I'd like to stay right here and not enter the world of duels and duty. Hence: "I want to stop" and "Suspend me in this choiceless Now." Hence, the "cruelty" of the hour that forces me to choose instead of happily evading. If I could "hover" forever, avoiding decision and destination and destiny in the static paradise of a "sitting breeze," or if I could even escape back to childhood and to the past ("If all the spilt petals could climb like crabs up the tree again")—why, then "I'd stay" and forever "hover" in selfish aestheticism. But this is impossible. So I "tread" down the petals (that is, I reject *l'art pour l'art*), and at once I'm "off to" the world of action and moral responsibility: "the lonely duel." The phrase "sitting breeze," repeated in the title, is ironic. Breezes *can't* sit; they must ever move on. Similarly, "I" (not I but any artist so tempted) cannot halt or evade or escape; I must go ahead to act, with all the consequences of action.

Asked by Mr. Haydn how I came to write the poem, I'd say it was when I had to force myself to take a stand on the issue of certain ethical implications of Mr. Pound's badly-written new book, *The Pisan Cantos*. Quite apart from the whole problem of the connection between communication and good writing, and apart from my

* This correspondence is printed at the suggestion of Mr. Viereck, who believed that it would interest AMERICAN SCHOLAR readers, particularly in view of the wide range of comment on the current Forum about "The New Criticism."

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admiration of much of this author's earlier work, the essential message of the book (and here it undoubtedly communicates) is fascism and anti-Semitism. All human beings, including poets, who enjoy the privileges of a free society, should try to make their duties (when undertaken voluntarily, not under state coercion) equal their privileges, in defiance of the pressures toward unfree conformity. This problem is doubly pertinent in an age when conformist totalitarianism of left and right threatens our free individualism so seriously. Art withers under totalitarianism, such as the racism and fascism that *The Pisan Cantos* celebrates. The free artist, like any other free citizen, has a moral responsibility against the evil of fascism and anti-Semitic persecution (not politics but actual evil is the issue raised by *The Pisan Cantos*). Accordingly, this lyric, "Like a Sitting Breeze," reflects the turning-point when I could no longer evade taking the stand of: ethics before "pure" art, freedom from totalitarianism before irresponsible ivory-tower.

The lyric reflects hesitation and inner moral disunity, for the temptation of evasion-through-silence was great, inasmuch as my choice was on the unpopular and almost completely isolated side of a dispute in which the *l'art-pour-l'art* side was supported sincerely and belligerently (though mistakenly, I do believe) by most of our finest poets and critics. (The latter were justifiably indignant over the unjust, demagogic slurrings of their motives and of all modern poetry in the June, 1949, *Saturday Review*, which, as I pointed out in *Saturday Review* at the time, had little in common with my own "third force" position against the outworn and stultifying stereotypes of the Pound-Tate school of epigones.)

My poem's meaning is so much broader than this concrete cause of it, and the issue so much more permanent than the Pound dispute, that I regret having to explain the cause of it and hope it will be judged on its merits and broader issues only, and on its attempted music of nostalgic rhythm-variations.

My juxtaposition of the Housman and Cavalcanti-Eliot quotes in lines two and three, is deliberately incongruous, neither line being used in its context or its author's meaning, but reworked into this poem's metaphor motifs.

PETER VIERECK

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THE NEW CRITICISM

The stenographic record of the second half of a discussion held at the home of the Editor on Tuesday evening, August 22, 1950. Present were the following persons:*

WILLIAM BARRETT
KENNETH BURKE
MALCOLM COWLEY
ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS
ALLEN TATE
HIRAM HAYDN

Act II

The living room at 94 MacDougal Street. After refreshment, the participants resume their places.

MR. HAYDN:[1] At the risk of being absolutist and authoritarian, I suggest that you let me ask two or three specific questions at this point.

MR. COWLEY:[2] It is the right of the host.

MR. HAYDN: Thank you, sir. I would also suggest that perhaps we let one person who wants to try to answer any of these, do so, and then such others as want to join in may do that as well. Then we will move on to another question.

The first question is—Does the term "The New Criticism" have a definite and specific meaning, or is it merely a loose—as the case may be—allegation or term?

MR. TATE:[3] I would like to say something briefly about that. I think it has a definite meaning to the extent that it describes a particular return to the literary text, along with a revolt against historical scholarship —against the kind of thing represented by the P. M. L. A.

[1] HIRAM HAYDN is the editor of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

[2] MALCOLM COWLEY is one of the best known contemporary American literary critics. He contributes regularly to various periodicals and has edited or written a large number of books.

[3] Poet and critic, ALLEN TATE is a lecturer at New York University. He is the author of *On the Limits of Poetry* and *Poems 1922–1947*, among other books.

*The first half appeared in the Winter, 1950-51, number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

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MR. BARRETT:[4] I would like to point out again that I don't really think the term has any definite meaning as a type of criticism. The only thing that it covers—

MR. HAYDN: Not even this academic thing?

MR. BARRETT: No, I don't think Mr. Tate is right. Mr. Tate is himself a distinctly historical critic. Moreover, while his definition would apply to somebody like Cleanth Brooks, it certainly doesn't apply to John Crowe Ransom, who is concerned with something much different, actually dealing very little with the text—and that only occasionally.

MR. HAYDN: What did Mr. Ransom mean when he used "The New Criticism" as a title? Did he mean a particular group or did he merely mean "the new" (in the ordinary sense of the word) "critics?"

MR. BARRETT: Well, as a matter of fact, I read this afternoon the introduction to Mr. Ransom's book, *The New Criticism*, because I thought I would do a little cribbing. And it seemed to me that Mr. Ransom must have been aware himself of a sort of random inclusion, when he discussed T. S. Eliot, Yvor Winters and I. A. Richards under the general heading. In his introduction, he also discussed R. P. Blackmur—evidently to show that Mr. Blackmur was one of several other new critics who might have been included.

Mr. Ransom seemed to be saying, when he cited Mr. Blackmur, that his analysis of a stanza by Emily Dickinson could only have been written at the time, but didn't necessarily represent a new kind of apparatus or technique. You could say that of any critic at any time, and I think the term "The New Criticism" is really empty of meaning insofar as it might be thought to convey some description of a specifically new technique in literary criticism.

MR. HAYDN: Well, now—

MR. TATE *(Interposing):* I don't think we are in any disagreement here. In spite of what you say, most of these new critics have been concerned with the text rather than with historical backgrounds, influences, and so on.

MR. BARRETT: But what struck me in the example I gave is that the citation from Mr. Blackmur was not about Emily Dickinson's text at all; it was in fact a brief moral essay, very eloquent and subtle, on the human experience of renunciation, the subject of Emily Dickinson's poem.

MR. TATE *(Interposing):* He is concerned with the particular words and phrases, with something smaller than the total text.

MR. BARRETT: I think what I have just said about Mr. Blackmur is typical of his criticism generally. He is interested in the themes of the writer and certain larger problems.

MR. TATE: Not of complete poems. He takes a phrase from one poem and a phrase from another poem.

MR. BARRETT: But he doesn't discuss those phrases in terms of textual analysis. And it doesn't seem to me that textual analysis, *explication de* texte*, defines what all the "New Critics" have been doing.

MR. HAYDN: Let me try to summarize a little, without discussing this immediate point, which I am not competent to judge. It seems to me clear, as Mr. Cowley said way back at the beginning of the evening, that there has been in the last twenty or thirty years a new movement in academic circles—whether a conscious movement or whether simply something that happened among a number of people interested in criticism primarily from this "explication de texte" approach—just as there have been numerous other approaches among scholars and critics in our universities and colleges. To name just a few of them—there are the traditional historical approach, the predominantly biographical approach, the history-of-ideas approach, and the newer ones concerned with the anthropological treatment of myth and the psychoanalytic evaluation.

[4] Associate editor of *Partisan Review* and assistant professor of philosophy at New York University, WILLIAM BARRETT has written literary criticism for *Partisan Review, Kenyon Review, Atlantic Monthly* and other publications.

*Incorrectly, *du* was used in this context throughout Act I.

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It further seems clear to me that the textual-analysis approach makes sense, that it has served a good purpose and restored a needed balance; that it isn't the only, or *necessarily* the best, way to approach literary criticism—but that, obviously, all the approaches that have met the test of application and time can be useful and stimulating.

Now, on the other hand, there remains the question which was certainly raised in Mr. Davis' article, "The New Criticism and the Democratic Tradition"—is there a conscious *movement* here, not in the sense of a fraternity or a club, as one of you said earlier, but in the sense of individuals who are aware of this connection, each with the others, of being "members" of the New Criticism? Let us leave the politics aside for just a moment, to be taken up next.

MR. TATE: There *is* something, some communication among them, but I don't think it's based on any definite purpose.

MR. HAYDN: And you believe that it leaves room for plenty of individual differences?

MR. BURKE:[5] I do think there is a basic principle underlying these critics from the standpoint of the sort of thing that Mr. Davis was talking about.

MR. HAYDN: Now, when you say that: "from the standpoint that he was talking about"—

MR. BURKE *(Interposing):* From the standpoint that you are talking now about the *explication de texte*. But this whole political element—

MR. HAYDN *(Interposing):* Do you mind waiting a second on the politics? I just want to see if I can pull this together in the terms of the avowed purpose of the discussion. I promise to call on you first when we get to the politics.

MR. COWLEY: If I could come in there—yes, these critics do come together, they do coalesce—not in their own personalities, but in their disciples.

MR. DAVIS:[6] And in their rejections, too.

MR. COWLEY: The distinction is quite valid.

MR. HAYDN: It makes sense to me.

MR. COWLEY: Where Mr. Ransom and Mr. Tate, for example, are miles apart in many of their judgments, young Mr. X. who has listened to both of them and read both of them, seems to be a conglomeration or coagulation of Ransom and Tate. Young Mr. X represents the school—not Ransom, Tate or Blackmur.

MR. TATE *(Interposing):* Off the record.

Discussion off the record.

MR. HAYDN: Gentlemen, we are going back on the record and right after Mr. Cowley's statement.

You spoke, Mr. Cowley, in making this statement, which makes real sense to me, of Allen Tate and of John Crowe Ransom. Now, regardless of what Mr. Tate and Mr. Ransom would want to do about it, would you include with them, let us say, Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren in this loose association that you have been describing? Would you include Mr. Burke? Whom else would you include?

MR. COWLEY: I wouldn't include Kenneth Burke. I would say that he was a side influence on all of them without being affiliated even loosely with them. Do I speak correctly, Kenneth?

MR. BURKE: I think that's so. Certainly I have never been explicitly lined up with them in any of their statements. Ransom does mention something that Yvor Winters says he got from me, then in his analysis moves on to talk about Winters. But I certainly didn't figure explicitly.

However, the thing I want to get at is: What of the Next Phase? To what future use has been this general bearing-down on Mr. Davis? I've felt sort of friendly with

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him while he has been the victim. I've wanted to get over on his side because of the underdog principle. I don't think he would be—

MR. TATE *(Interposing):* He doesn't seem to me like an underdog.

MR. BURKE: Not generally, of course—just at the moment. But there is a basic matter that I think he is on the track of.

MR. HAYDN: Mr. Burke, if you are going to go into politics now, I am just going to come over and jump on you.

MR. BURKE: Don't worry about that. We are circling about that basic problem, about the whole approach toward human action from the standpoint of something like original sin as against the idea of human perfectibility. And I think that's the fundamental thing that Mr. Davis is on the track of.

MR. HAYDN: But we are not there yet, if you will excuse me.

MR. BURKE: That was where the whole thing—

MR. HAYDN *(Interposing):* That was way back, B. C. We *were* there. But we are not there yet in this final session. I am, I know, being a literal-minded, pedestrian, rigid, pig-headed editor. But in the earlier discussion we found it mighty hard to keep on the rails.

MR. BARRETT: I think the issue we've been on could be milked a little further.

MR. HAYDN: All right. Let's have that.

MR. BARRETT: It was Mr. Cowley's particular point about the offspring of the New Criticism—that they have been the ones who have really made it a *movement.* The single point that I have been trying to bring up this evening is that there is no such thing as *the* New Criticism, yet there is *a* new criticism. And your point is that actually it exists only as it appears in the various younger offspring of various people who have been called, and I think falsely, "New Critics"—people like Mr. Tate.

I feel that he is not a new critic at all. There is nothing new about him in the sense we're discussing. His criticism, as a kind of criticism, has been known for a long time.

MR. COWLEY: A perfect example of the New Criticism as a movement would be an article on Ezra Pound by James Blish in a recent issue of the *Sewanee Review.* If Mr. Davis had attacked that article, we would all be here to applaud him.

MR. DAVIS: Unfortunately, it was written after mine.

MR. BARRETT: It seems to me that the movement is really *there* in terms of the younger people whom I meet, who are mostly graduate students. Most of these people do not appear in print at all, but in their conversation I find that their whole approach to literature is very limited. While I can't say, "Well, this is the work of the New Criticism," I do think that in this sense the New Criticism is a very real literary tendency of our period.

MR. TATE: Doesn't that always happen?

MR. BARRETT: But let's try to see what it consists of, then.

MR. TATE: Well, what is it?

MR. BARRETT: Well, it seems to me—I find a kind of unreality in the way in which these people approach a literary work—a kind of—well, a kind of separation of literature from life, and the use of an elaborate apparatus to reach a point which I find usually very trivial, even banal, when you grind down and reduce the apparatus that they have used.

MR. TATE: I partly agree with you—about the disciples.

MR. BARRETT: In general, they show a thorough sense of unreality. I find *that,* for that matter, in the writings of some of the older exponents. Sometimes (it's not quite fair, since he isn't here)—sometimes I find this in Mr. Ransom himself.

MR. COWLEY: Added to the pursuit of a few concepts far up the street and around the corner and into the sewer. I'm speaking now of the disciples.

MR. BURKE: That is wonderful.

MR. DAVIS: I don't want to bring up Emerson, and his demand that the scholar be the whole man responding, and I recognize the necessity of judging literature in literary terms. But, nevertheless, I feel that the younger followers of the New Criti-

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cism don't have a deep emotional commitment to ideas outside literature that might enrich their response to literature, and I think that's partly the result of the effectiveness with which the New Criticism has made them afraid of falling into heresies.

MR. TATE: Maybe that always happens in any literary period. A group of critics appears, and they have a certain influence. Then they are dislodged by another group that comes along later. Isn't that perfectly normal?

MR. BARRETT: I am really interested in something else. I am interested, for example, in fomenting disagreement between you and Mr. Burke in your critical methods, because it seems to me—

MR. BURKE *(Interposing):* Oh, boy!

MR. TATE: I have no critical method. I couldn't fight him.

MR. COWLEY: Mr. Barrett, you could only get Kenneth and Allen and me into agreement in opposition to someone else.

MR. BARRETT: That's why I think this discussion has been hog-tied—because we should have settled the Davis article very early and gotten on to the subject of literary criticism.

MR. TATE: I don't think you can blame Ransom for what his disciples do.

MR. BARRETT: I think in part, yes.

MR. TATE: No. Why?

MR. BURKE: The students are usually the burlesque of the teacher. That's one of the rules. Oh, don't put that down!

Laughter.

MR. DAVIS: I was told this—

MR. TATE *(Interposing):* I have heard a lot of stuff, I think—

MR. BARRETT: I am profoundly opposed to Mr. Burke as a critic—not that I don't admire your work, but I am opposed to it intellectually. I think the approach is—

MR. BURKE: But you don't know what you are opposed to.

MR. BARRETT: But as far as I know, I am opposed in the same way I am not opposed to Mr. Tate's criticism, and I feel Mr. Tate actually as a critic should be really very much at issue with you, and I think that this business—

MR. HAYDN: Well, let's arrange it—"the fomenting of disagreement."

MR. BARRETT: And, as a matter of fact, Mr. Tate, on the basis of what he's written, should be very much opposed to you as a critic.

MR. BURKE: After we are through, will you let me know what your notion of what I'm doing—as a critic—is? This isn't for—

MR. TATE *(Interposing):* You can retire later.

MR. BURKE: I am not entitled to bring it up here, but I would like to hear about it later, if I could.

MR. BARRETT: That was just a statement as to differences. It should lead to further discussion. It seems to me that too much emphasis has been placed on Mr. Davis' article, and particularly the political issue—that we should have gotten to the subject of literary criticism.

MR. HAYDN: Now, wait a minute. Perhaps, on the contrary, this is the very time, Mr. Burke, for you to start in on the political issue. I think there is no hope of coming to a graceful conclusion on the point we have just been discussing.

MR. BURKE: I just wanted to say this. There were a bunch of words cited in Mr. Davis' article that were bad words, used favorably by the New Critics, and another bunch they meant to be bad, which he liked. I just wondered—Well, it seemed to me that, while attacking these words, he was also exemplifying the whole absolutist position—since he flatly disfavors the favored terms of the New Critics, and favors the disfavored ones.

MR. HAYDN: Let me interrupt for a moment before you go ahead on this—let's not say before we conclude, but before moving on in this particular direction. For, if I understand you, you're not yet launching the political issue, although leading into it.

We have described a loose association which allowed all sorts of individuals within that association to hold different recognized critical positions. We have considered, with whatever differences and whatever inconclusiveness, the extent to which they

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—or their disciples—have inclined to a separation of literature from life generally.

Now comes the point raised in Mr. Davis' article which is still before the final political point—and leads to it, I think—that there is a constant running through the work of these people and that this constant can be recognized by the continued use of terms, some of which Mr. Davis examines with a highly unfavorable eye and which he finds running through the work of these people, and to which, you were beginning to say, he opposes another set of terms.

Now, will you go ahead, and excuse me for the interruption.

MR. BURKE: I will review at this stage only the shorter group of terms. That is the first list, the ones that are the favorable ones used by the New Criticism, according to Mr. Davis' statement.

First is "authority." And why not concern yourself with authority as one of the basic points about which you ask questions? Therefore, I think it is quite legitimate to talk about symbols of authority, and about the acceptance and rejection of authorities. That's why I like to study someone like Corneille—because I can actually see a whole structure—a court art turned into its corresponding aesthetic counterpart, as against, for instance, the over-simplified reductions of, say, behavioristic psychology.

I see there, I say, a highly complex art. And when I look at that, then I have ways of looking into other types of art where the relation between poetry and the court, or between the poetry and the rule, the system of rule, is not so readily recognizable.

However, I can, starting with the court as an element, find ways of looking and seeing into this other material.

MR. DAVIS: My question in all these cases —to interrupt—is whether complexity and richness in art require authoritarianism in society.

MR. BURKE: Well, you see, the thing is that you seem to think that these words have to make that demand upon a person —say, the critic who uses them. That's the sort of attack I get in the *Partisan Review* all the time just because I use those words. But I am trying to show that those words don't have to have those meanings—those political meanings—at all. It's only the *response* to those words which is so absolutist.

Now, let's have the second word. "Hierarchy," again, is really just a subtle variant of the word "bureaucracy," which runs all through our criticism. Although bureaucracies are usually headed in some term for "Mr. Big," the general organizational factor is stressed at the expense of matters having to do with relative status.

"Hierarchy" seems advisable when this "invidious" element is under consideration. And, of course, "hierarchy" leads further into a concern with all kinds of developments, of movements from one level into another, from one order of terms to another.

MR. DAVIS: My understanding was that for Eliot, and at times for Mr. Tate, these literary relations were dependent on similar relations in society.

MR. BURKE: The point is this: if you don't stress such topics, you don't have the proper critical equipment for knowing what is going on, either in the world, or in literature. But when a person says that these things are going on, then he bears down, gives you the proper admonitions, whatever your attitude. If they are going on, and you have a vocabulary that doesn't recognize them, then you get a kind of "honest smuggling" operation, since they are brought in undeclared. So, I think that these words equip you better to know the motives of a society than do terms which, on their face, are more equalitarian, but fundamentally fail to show what is going on.

MR. HAYDN: This is really pertinent to the "political attitude" charge. Recognizing these literary terms as having their equivalents in the world in which you live is one thing; adapting a doctrinaire point of view about them, and *using* them politically, quite another. This seems to me to be the crux of the whole question. Mr. Davis did find, a politically doctrinaire point of view at least implicit in the continued use of

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these terms by the New Critics. You, on the contrary, are saying that these are, if you will, poetic equivalents, or translations into the terms of art, of factors existing in all of our experience.

MR. BURKE: Now, there it is. But I offer more terms.

"Catholicism." It can be used for the principle of composition, where "Protestantism" is used for the principle of division. Obviously, when so used, a terminology is half-baked unless it allows for both.

Now, "aristocracy"—I am going through all these terms. In trying to analyze literary tactics, I find myself again and again obliged to look for the author's modes of "dignification." He will state or imply, at the very least, some kind of "spiritual nobility," some idea of the "diamond in the rough," or of "nature's gentlemen," or he will employ paradoxes whereby the apparent corruption of a protagonist is, roundabout, a higher morality.

Now, I have one instance that I would like to put in. I had a student working on Djuna Barnes' *Nightwood*, and she was puzzled about the ending—the passage where Robin sinks down on all fours, and is barking at the whimpering dog.

Well, how about this place, you know, where Robin becomes, you might say, the essence of dog. How about that? Well, what is going on there? What is defined by this system of terms, if one simply works at the text?

Well, I said, "Look back and see how dogs appeared in this work," and then I, on the side, went back myself and did some boning up and reread some of the author's other stories and so on, and I found that there were two basic "kinds of dogs" that she had in these works. One was "putting on the dog" and the other—"going to the dogs."

Well, one of the basic things I always ask students to look for is the kind of image where you can get opposites united—something going down and something going up at the same time. That's part of my way of handling the hierarchic motivation, and if you can get something of that sort, then you have an ideal symbol. She had there in that figure—that is, taking these out of the texts—she had places where "dog" was used in those two senses.

The point is that you have this mixture of the two things, and then in the text itself you try to find a statement that articulates what is elsewhere implicit, in the manner described. And in this case you find the character O'Connor saying, "We don't rise to heights—we are eaten away to them." It's by decay, that is, that you go up. So when you see this dog at the end of *Nightwood*, you realize you have actually had carried out in an image this dignification method. It proved in this case to be a way of dignifying corruption, of making corruption into a claim to distinction. And that's the sort of thing that goes on.

MR. DAVIS: I would like to raise a point.

MR. HAYDN: Let me put in just one parenthetic statement. One perhaps unintended thing I get from all that you have been saying is this: Your concept of value is vertical—up and down—good and bad or the "betweens": fair, better, best, and so forth. There is implicit for me in this a kind of absolutism. This is an immediate recognition that you not only feel that you know what good means and what bad means but that they are in themselves, and all the gradations between them, absolutes of a kind.

MR. TATE: I think that is a misunderstanding of the whole religious approach to the notion of truth. No man, not even—

MR. HAYDN: Let me finish the last half of the sentence and then you can jump on me. I want to say that there is another kind of evaluation which is horizontal, primarily.

MR. BURKE: Looking at the book itself, I don't agree with Djuna Barnes' values, but the first thing I want to know is: How is this book developing? What are the principles of its organization?

MR. HAYDN: No, no. I'm sorry—I wasn't referring to the values in that illustration. I can see now why you thought I was. What I mean is: If you believe in the validity of "hierarchy," for example, not as a replica of, but as one means of in-

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terpretation of reality, that is one thing. But to see it as the *only* valid description of reality, and to make of this a dogma or a cause is a different thing.

MR. TATE: Yes, it is.

MR. BURKE: Yes. Well, I think I have often—

MR. HAYDN *(Interposing):* Perhaps I am still confused as to what you mean.

MR. COWLEY: In your horizontal scale of values, which is east and which is west?

MR. HAYDN: That's fair enough. In other words, you mean: Do I believe in the kind of easy, cheap "relativism" which represents a total lack of values?

MR. COWLEY: I mean that if you take your ladder and turn it and put it on the ground, one rung, if it isn't above another, is east or north of the other, so you can't get away from having or implying a scale of values.

MR. TATE: Should this figure of a vertical scale of values be perceived subjectively, or shall the values be translated at once by analogy into a social system? That's what you are getting at.

If the vertical scale is "reactionary," from your point of view, presumably the New Critics would more or less favor a social system which exemplified hierarchy, like the medieval system.

MR. HAYDN: I am asking that, I guess. But I haven't been too clear, for I see now that I am really involved in two separate inquiries at once.

MR. TATE: But you are asking that question?

MR. HAYDN: I wish you would answer it.

MR. TATE: I would say that such a society obviously does not exist. But it doesn't mean that a man, a literary critic, may not exhibit the virtues of such a society in the past, such virtues as internal order, assent to a common purpose—even an understanding of where everybody belonged. Those may be real virtues. But that doesn't mean that a literary man should take the risks that Pound did.

That was his fundamental mistake—to identify certain values with a contemporary political movement, which doesn't follow at all. That was Pound's terrible mistake, and it was really a fundamental mistake. He was convinced of certain values of the moral and spiritual life, and he tried to translate them into immediate action. It's not the part of the man of letters or of the man of imagination to order the political life.

MR. DAVIS: But isn't that part of Southern traditionalism, that you have to maintain a certain way of life in order to have certain values—you know, the article by McLuhan in the *Southern Vanguard?*

MR. TATE: I had nothing to do with writing that, you know. It was extravagant, but it contained some brilliant observations.

MR. DAVIS: It said, for instance, that the existence of servants led to a certain kind of formality and impersonality of life.

MR. TATE: Is that bad? But I am sure you can't imagine any one of the so-called New Critics dying for the lack of servants. It was nice to have them, but that's that.

MR. DAVIS: I was interested, Mr. Burke, in what you said about dignification. One of my points was that the New Critics haven't shown sufficient interest in such transformed values and the possibility of them within our society.

MR. TATE: It's not the literary critic's business to seek them in society. His business is to seek them in books.

MR. DAVIS: I was going to talk about books. I was going to talk about "The Wasteland" by Eliot, because you and many others have praised the passage in which Eliot describes the love affair of the young man carbuncular.

MR. TATE: It's a magnification of man.

MR. DAVIS: His sordid affair with the stenographer as contrasted with the magnificence of loves of the past? Why do we see only the magnificence of the past? What about the Boccaccio stories of love which are just as ugly or lecherous?

MR. TATE: But Eliot is not literally using the past or saying, "It's better." It's a problem of formal effect in a poem. Why does he use a renaissance background? Because it's easily recognizable.

MR. DAVIS: No, there is a deliberate presentation of the past's greatness, as against the present's ugliness and vulgarity.

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MR. BURKE: I can come back at that from a different angle. It gets down to two systems, again, of naming an essence. What the poet is trying to do is to name the essence of something. He is not going to do it like a philosopher. He is going to work in a narrative vocabulary, which is a vocabulary of time. And in the vocabulary of time you have two ways of translating essence. You can either translate it into terms of what was in the past, or what will be in the future. One is just as unreal as the other, so far as the actual realities of the situation are concerned.

However, you have those two strategies, and it seems to me now, looking at works of art, all I do is just simply ask myself, "Which one is he using?" *(Holding up a book)* When this fellow wants to ascribe an ideal essence to a period that he knew was bad in actuality—when he wants to make that essence grand—he sees it in terms of the future.

MR. HAYDN: Which fellow?

MR. BURKE: Whitman in *Democratic Vistas*. But others proceed as Eliot did in "The Wasteland"—he wanted to attack the present in terms of an ideal past.

It seems to me that that is all just tactics.

MR. DAVIS: It isn't just tactics. It does create the attitude, the feeling, that the present cannot be redeemed: it's beyond hope.

MR. TATE: I would put that in an entirely different perspective. The typist and the clerk are Man in any age. The magnificence and strength of the "past" are an idealization of the possibilities of human nature. It's a version of the Garden of Eden, of Paradise, which has never existed historically.

MR. COWLEY: We have not developed sufficiently a real thought with Eliot—we haven't developed one sufficiently except when Kenneth Burke mentioned that the hierarchic sense ranks higher than—

MR. TATE: Well, that's the monarchical tradition. I don't object to that. Do you, Kenneth, object to that?

MR. BURKE: I wouldn't like personally—

MR. TATE: But you see he is not asking us to undertake to restore monarchy.

MR. BURKE: It's one set of tactics.

MR. HAYDN: Well, gentlemen, I have been appealed to once, and once is sufficient, to restore order— and order has something to do with this meeting anyway.

However, I will take advantage of this chance to stick my thought in here, that while this conversation was going on, I continued to think of the two camps to which I referred earlier [off the record]—the two camps that have come all the way down from the Realists and the Nominalists in the Middle Ages—indeed from the dispute between the Platonists and the Aristotelians.

MR. TATE: I would accuse Mr. Davis' camp, if he is in the other camp, of a kind of obscurantism. They want to eliminate entirely every level of interpretation but social "correlation." They relate the work of literature to a social situation or a social milieu. There is just this *one* interpretation. In the terms of the medieval four-fold system of interpretation, they rule the three top levels out and leave only the literal.

MR. DAVIS: On the contrary—

MR. TATE *(Interposing):* That is my complaint.

MR. DAVIS: I am leaving in the social actuality, but I am deeply aware of these other levels, and I want to bring them together.

MR. TATE: Aren't you leaving them—

MR. DAVIS: That is my task as an American critic, and it seems to me that the effort of the New Critics has been to widen breaches. I am speaking of tradition as it actually exists for us—the American tradition.

MR. TATE: I don't know what that is. I don't know what the European tradition is.

MR. DAVIS: You have defined them very well.

MR. BARRETT: I don't think the difference between European and American is an abstraction.

MR. TATE: That is something.

MR. BARRETT *(Continuing):* Or the European character—

MR. HAYDN *(Interposing):* All right, gentlemen. The last question, and then, from then on, you can talk just as long (or as briefly) as you want—and to whatever point you will.

Does this constant, if you will, this tend-

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ency which is susceptible to various interpretations, but which Mr. Burke has referred to, as he discussed the terms which Mr. Davis grouped together—does this tendency, consciously or not consciously, have a political, a quite definite political significance?

MR. TATE: Do you mean that the New Critics would translate it into political action? I would say no, but any idea has political significance that any man holds at any moment.

MR. HAYDN: I didn't word it correctly.

MR. BURKE: When you use a word like hierarchy, do you mean that we should have more hierarchy, more hierarchic sorts of things?

MR. HAYDN: That's what I was trying to get at really. Is it really possible to divorce so neatly a man's aesthetic position, or his literary, his critical position from his political and social position (and I am thinking at the moment of what Allen said a little while ago about Ezra Pound)? It strikes me as likely that such divisions are arbitrary, oversimplified, whether in the interests of category and definition, or for some more disingenuous reason.

MR. TATE: My feeling is that X, an honored American poet, is no better than Ezra Pound, and I have told him that. It happened that X was on the winning side. But his politics are just as ill-grounded, and he talks through his hat as much as Ezra Pound has. He has made similar mistakes—on the other side. He tried to translate total imaginative construction of some kind that he had a vague feeling for into action. Nobody listened to him, but a lot of people listened to Ezra over the radio. Yet it's really the same thing.

MR. COWLEY: I will tell you one way in which the New Critics are reactionary, and one way in which they are liberal. They are reactionary in the sense that they are pleading for a lack of interest in politics, either objectively pleading for it or else substantively pleading for it by never mentioning politics. Therefore, they are helping, in a sense, to separate an intelligent sector of the American public from political interest.

MR. TATE: Yes, that's probable, too.

MR. COWLEY: And in that fashion they are having a reactionary effect, much against their own will, in many cases.

They are having a liberal or progressive or forward-looking effect in this way—that they think that art is serious, whereas Mr. Luce's editorial writers can condemn a policy on the ground that it is favored by academic highbrows.

There is a violent attack at the present time on all productions of the human mind. We are supposed to accept doctrines because they are laid down by the majority, and the majority is supposed to accept the doctrines because they are enounced by the Luce magazines and the Scripps-Howard newspapers. In fact, I think that Mr. Davis is a dangerous heretic from that point of view, because I imagine there are some dogmas of the American Century that he hasn't accepted, and also because he is an academic highbrow.

MR. DAVIS: I was attacking dogmas held—

MR. COWLEY: Insofar as they are academic highbrows, the New Critics are on the right side so far as I am concerned.

MR. DAVIS: I was attacking dogmas held by an influential group in the academic world, but attacking them in a magazine read widely in the academic world. I don't think I was playing into the hands of the enemy in any sense.

MR. BARRETT: If what Mr. Davis said had appeared in *Life* magazine, or even in *Harper's*, it would have been much less pardonable, I think. Mr. Davis, I think, did intend his criticism to be internal. You gentlemen should consider that when accusing him of laying down a political line.

MR. DAVIS: These are the people who have dominated criticism in the forties whom I was attacking.

MR. BURKE: May I ask something? This is something I am a bit vague about. This is not a trick. But there is one strand running through your article, and in noting it, I began to see a possible paradox. It bears on the fact that the Agrarians associated with the New Criticism lay great stress on a relation between personal freedom and private ownership, particularly ownership of land.

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You imply in your article that this group is interfering with government policies at the present time, that it's crippling our policies abroad. Yet the funny thing is: At every stage we seem to be backing policies that are not solving the land problem. And I wondered about the irony of this whole thing—whether you were really shifting the whole blame and emphasis to the wrong place. Our country was obviously built on a solving of the land problem. It was easy. We took the land away from the Indians and gave it to our citizens.

However, in other parts of the world, particularly in the East, this problem has not been solved; we seem to be everywhere on the side of factions which are not solving it; and the irony is that your method of attack seems to imply that these Agrarians are less liberal than our government's foreign policies. Does not this paradox about land reform underlie your thoughts on liberalism? Now, is it so? I don't know.

MR. DAVIS: I agree that the great advantage that the Communists have against us in the world at the present time is that they can offer fairer distribution of land to Asian peasants.

What I was concerned with was the acceptability of such words as authoritarianism, absolutism, dogmatism— not with the solution of the land problem.

MR. BURKE: You didn't talk about it specifically.

MR. DAVIS: That's related very indirectly to the literary vocabulary.

MR. TATE: You used the phrase, "American tradition—American democratic tradition" and you seemed to define it pretty closely. This looks to me like an emerging dogma. Why should you object to other levels of experience—moral and religious—in the terms with which those levels have been dealt with in societies of the past? I think you're cutting everything out except the literal-social level, all except the *political* experience of man.

MR. DAVIS: On the contrary, as I have said, I shouldn't have written such an article in the thirties, when the left socialist attitude was dominant. But during the forties I felt that in the quarterly reviews, the attitude of the New Critics prevailed too exclusively, and that we needed to consider more deeply and more creatively what still remains the central American tradition.

MR. TATE: Could you consider books, not society at large, but as it appears in books, and how society functions in terms of the whole structure of a certain book? If you have a novel by James T. Farrell you get people from the South Side of Chicago. I don't think that a sociological discussion of the South Side of Chicago is particularly important except as the South Side appears in the total structure of the novel.

MR. DAVIS: But again I return to that article, the essay of yours on the four American poets in which you discuss primarily their relationship to the society of the time. Not only must we discuss contemporary authors in relation to the society of our own time, but we ourselves are involved in that society. We are creative human agents with real personal responsibility.

MR. TATE: I am not in favor of eliminating the social and political level. That would be committing your mistake in reverse. We have got to have the whole thing.

MR. HAYDN: That was really the reason that I asked you all to come together.

MR. TATE: I think there still remains the charge against some of the younger disciples. Your charge against them is perfectly just.

MR. BURKE: How about the rest of the terms?

MR. TATE: My terms require me to take a train to Princeton pretty soon.

MR. BURKE: There are only four more terms that were mentioned in the list.

MR. BARRETT: I want to add a brief point about Mr. Burke's previous remarks about the land problem. For example, agrarianism —I don't think the term connects, for example, Mr. Tate with the Chinese Communists.

MR. TATE: Oh, no. My kind isn't a question of distribution of land.

MR. BURKE: Well, that gets us pretty far afield. What I was getting at there is that what we have done is to put ourselves in a position where, all over the East, the Communists could identify themselves with a

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policy with which we could very well have identified ourselves: the solving of the land problem. For our liberalism has been traditionally concerned with this problem.

MR. TATE: We haven't solved it in the United States.

MR. BURKE: Yet this has been a measure of our greatness. Similarly, in Europe there have been important redistributions of land. For instance, in England the Church was deprived of many such holdings.

MR. BARRETT: I just want to make this point for the record.

MR. BURKE: Let's take the other four terms now.

"Tradition." Well, it seems to me that the importance of cultural continuity is obvious. There is nothing wrong with that.

"Absolutes." Any given way of living can be summed up in over-all terms, which are technically "God-terms" or "absolutes." If one does not explicitly recognize this normal dialectical resource, one will necessarily fall into irrelevant hagglings.

In other words, the point is this: Don't attack the notion of absolutes as such. Rather, ask a man to state what his absolutes are. That's all. Everybody has some absolutes.

MR. DAVIS: What does "absolutes" mean literally?

MR. BURKE: "Absolutes," strangely enough, means "freedoms."

MR. DAVIS: How so?

MR. BURKE: It's all tied up with absolvings. I had something on that; I probably won't get around to it.

MR. TATE: You won't tonight.

MR. BURKE: The whole idea of freedom is—well, the irony is that the word "absolutes" does contain the notion of the free, the loosened, the transcending of all conditions. Yet the absolute is said to be embodied in conditions, to be a good which is thus translated into conditional terms.

MR. HAYDN: Plato?

MR. BURKE: You see, my notion all the way along is that such critics tell you what their absolutes are, tell you what their hierarchy is.

That gives you a chance to know where you are. It is cards face-up on the table. Where the ambiguities are, where the deceptions are, is where you don't have such things explicitly labeled, but smuggle them in.

MR. DAVIS: Doesn't it suggest more than that—an absolution of literature from other commitments, other values?

MR. TATE: Oh, no.

MR. BURKE: Well, we have two more words here.

"Dogma."

MR. HAYDN: That's the two-handed engine at the door.

MR. BURKE: The dictionary says, "A dogma rests on authority regarded as competent to decide and determine."

Now, here is the thing I want to get at here, and I think we will kid ourselves about dogma if we don't recognize this. In a highly specialized society, we must necessarily admit a large degree of dogma, as so described. One may resist a given dogma—the history of religious controversy is the history of such resistance, but I do not see that dogma itself can be avoided. Indeed, if we could but get into the habit of referring to "scientific dogma," we might thereby be best equipped to question scientific authorities.

We have to take our dentists as authorities; we have to take our doctors as authorities. As soon as you get a highly specialized society, everyone to an extent has to accept a certain amount of dogma from those outside his field.

MR. DAVIS: Provisionally, only.

MR. BURKE: But the old theologians' fault—these dogmas—heavens—the mere fact that a dogma—well, you can buttress dogma in a way whereby you are not allowed even to look at it any more. The point is that dogma itself is just simply doctrine, and you can't run any science without doctrines.

MR. DAVIS: Look. The way dogmatic theologians went after heretics is something very different. And heresy is one of the favorite words of the New Criticism.

MR. BURKE: People suffer for their heresies. We suffer in different ways, but there are punishments for heresy now. You know that.

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Now, as for the last term in that series.

MR. HAYDN: When you get this far, though, before you get to the last term, what you're saying makes even Montaigne a dogmatist. I mean, of all the figures I can think of, this man—

MR. BURKE *(Interposing):* Could I give an example on that point, a remarkably relevant case—

MR. HAYDN *(Continuing):* This man seems to me the best example. And in one sense you are quite right that the opposition to all dogma becomes a dogma. But, is that very fruitful?

MR. BURKE: Yes, I think it is. One of the writings that had the greatest effect upon me in all my life was De Gourmont's essay on "The Disassociation of Ideas." I was terrifically affected. For years I looked upon it as purely nihilistic. Then, when I went back to that essay in detail years afterwards, after I had developed my whole way of analyzing language and meanings, I discovered that every place he seemed to be breaking down one thing here, he was secretly building up something else. While you had your eye on him from one angle, he was fooling you—operating like a good magician. Every overt dissociation involved a covert re-association.

It's in that sense that I would say that a "no-dogma" winds up as a dogma; "no-philosophy" winds up as a philosophy; "no-metaphysics" winds up as a metaphysic. There's a standard racket today, as you well know, of throwing out X, and then smuggling it back in, in the name of "no-X."

That brings us to our last word in that group, which is "truths."

Insofar as Mr. Davis feels his essay to be just, I take him to imply that it stands for "truths" in an honorific sense of the term, though he may not explicitly formulate his position thus. If we are going to buck those terms on that kind of level, we are just lost.

The irony is that Mr. Davis is really the man who unconsciously represents the absolutist disposition, I think. All of those words have their pluses, and minuses, and you can't let somebody in or throw somebody out, purely by asking whether or not he features such terms.

The question is, "How does he use those terms?" The terms in themselves are not enough for a judgment. They are not so unambiguous as that. The term depends upon the ways in which it is modified by other terms, and in the whole cluster you get a new—

MR. BARRETT: I should like to question Mr. Burke's defense of dogma. Mr. Burke seems to me to defend a sense of dogma quite different from the sense that Mr. Davis was attacking in his article. Mr. Davis, taking off from De Maistre, was dealing with the word dogma in its usual Catholic sense. In this sense, a dogma is not a pronunciation on some subject by a competent authority; on the contrary, it is claimed that the truth of the dogma doesn't rest on the human competence of the person (the Pope) who pronounces it; it rests rather on supernatural revelation, on God who reveals it through his human spokesman.

Moreover, a dogma, in this theological sense, cannot be questioned once it has been pronounced. This is very different from the kind of dogma that Mr. Burke is defending. If we take the pronouncements of our dentist as dogmatic, it means that we ourselves may not question them, but at the back of our mind there is always the reservation that they can be questioned by some other competent dentist.

Thus it seems to me misleading generally to speak of scientific dogmas. A scientific statement is one that can always be questioned and revised. A religious dogma, once pronounced, is immovable. This is the meaning of dogma that has held in the religious tradition of the West since about the fourth century. I don't think Mr. Burke is defending, or wants to defend it. Mr. Davis, in his article, however, was attacking it.

MR. BURKE: Suppose I start out by proclaiming a dogma about language. Suppose I am analyzing dialectics dogmatically, and repeat the traditional distinction between the principles of composition and division. Here is a dogma about the nature of language, and I maintain that it's a fundamental

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dogma about the nature of language, and from that dogma we can proceed to make a lot of statements about how words are put together. We can observe terms that merge things and terms that divide things.

MR. DAVIS: But is that really an example that illustrates the distinction under discussion?

MR. BURKE: I grant that you have stupid dogmas; you have bright and stupid dogmas.

MR. BARRETT: When the Pope uses the word "dogma" he doesn't mean what you mean.

MR. BURKE: Well, all right. You don't have to use the term as the Pope uses it.

MR. BARRETT: But this word has its historical sense. Well, let's see—we have at least 1,500 years of religious usage. A dogma is something which is not—

MR. BURKE: Do you want me to have faith in all these traditions? Do you want me to have any freedom on these things?

MR. BARRETT: I mean Mr. Davis is concerned with the fact that socially and historically the word dogma connotes this one thing. But you are trying to justify the word dogma in a very different sense from the way in which he is using it, you see—

MR. BURKE *(Interposing):* I quote the dictionary. I will try again on this word dogma. "A dogma rests on authority regarded as competent to decide and determine."

I am saying: If you take that dictionary meaning, you will find that you have scientific dogma.

MR. TATE: It applies to the Pope, too.

MR. BARRETT: It has nothing to do with competence.

MR. BURKE: Oh, sure.

MR. TATE: Oh, sure. The Pope is a competent man.

MR. BARRETT: The Pope is not proclaiming his dogma on the basis of his competence.

MR. TATE: Sure, by the fact of his being Pope, he is competent.

MR. BARRETT: But not his private competence, his intellectual and moral—

MR. TATE: But his office is competent.

MR. BARRETT: I think it's really a serious point—not one to juggle with.

MR. TATE: The Pope is competent to deliver the dogma, and the Pope is merely the mouthpiece of the office.

MR. BARRETT: The dogma itself is grounded upon something. It rests upon the conviction that it is of supernatural origin.

MR. COWLEY: Mr. Moderator, can't you bring this right to a close?

MR. HAYDN: This and all the rest. From here on it's totally informal.

Whereupon, at approximately twelve, midnight, this meeting closed.

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The Reader Replies . . . . . .

THE READER REPLIES *regularly carries comments by readers on the contents of the preceding American Scholar Forum. In the Summer number, for example,* THE READER REPLIES *will contain letters about the debate in the current number on the subject: "The New Criticism." In addition, miscellaneous letters of comment on various articles appear in this department. All communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *415 First Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., and should not exceed 300 words in length, except for comments on the previous Forum, which may run to 500. Because of limitations of space, the editors cannot guarantee to print all communications received. Letters intended for publication in the Summer number should be mailed before March 20.*—EDITOR.

Miscellaneous Comments

The American State of Mind

Twice I have read with close interest Archibald MacLeish's article, "The American State of Mind," in the Autumn issue. The Boylston professor of rhetoric at Harvard denies that certain staggering questions he proposes are "rhetorical," but my humble impression is that many readers will violently disagree with the professor, who once was an Assistant Secretary of State. Fervently he asks "how could we . . . of all the peoples of the earth . . . fall from ourselves so far? And into such morbid and unmanly fears? . . . such spiteful hatreds? Such hysterical suspicion of each other and ourselves? Such neurotic terror of the machinations of our enemies? Such cowardly distrust of our own destiny, etc.?" This spate of flaming self-questionings ranges in the category of rhetorical hyperbole.

Assuming for sake of argument that the professor's questions are apropos, the answer is easy: The status to which he alleges we have drifted is due largely to the sellout by the Roosevelt administration, of which he was a part, to the fellow travelers and their bolder Communist accomplices, and to the later tragic giveaway at Yalta of territory and equipment, which enabled the Chinese Communists to gain control of the mainland and train a large army of Koreans for the hellish putsch, which just at present our American soldiers and allies are quelling. What he harps on with such rhetorical eloquence is merely the aftermath of Rooseveltian politics—and what glorious propaganda for the Democratic party, which for years has put the soft pedal on all matters relative to those handouts!

I hold no brief for the McCarthy fiasco, and heartily agree with the writer in his denunciations; yet we must not forget Alger Hiss, Klaus Fuchs, the *Amerasia* mess, and the imprisoned Communists whose disloyalty cannot be questioned. When the writer asks "where does the responsibility lie" for

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the hysteria that unquestionably gripped the nation, he answers his own question by asserting, "Where most of us are least likely to look for it—in ourselves." Even granting the justice of his conclusion, we dare not forget the train of events that lead up to the hysteria, the impact of which on national life was far less than he depicts. Rhetorical pomposity attains its climax, however, in the writer's query: "What has brought our convictions and beliefs to this low state?" and in his pontifical declaration that the question is "without any qualification whatever the most serious question history has asked us since the Civil War. . . . What it is in danger of is the loss of its own soul." These surcharged words are exaggeration amounting almost to rodomontade.

No one will quarrel with the professor for his insistence on the democratic prerogative of every citizen to think as he pleases and say as he thinks, but when many of our citizens have grossly abused the prerogative of thinking in terms of treasonable overthrow of the government, kowtowing to Stalinist demands of all Communists, are we tamely to submit and allow freedom of thought to lead to anarchy? Space forbidding further details, I must in conclusion express my conviction that MacLeish goes off half-cocked when he denounces our policy of "containment of Russia" and favors "the policy of the realization of the American dream." This latter is but an idealized conception of *purpose* which religiously he would have us fulfill in spite of the fact that the world is on fire, and the devouring flames every moment threatening our way of life. In the vivid light of existing facts of recent vintage I cannot resist the conclusion that Archibald MacLeish has been living in a celestial fog far up in cloud-cuckoo-land.

Laban Lacy Rice
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I have just read "The American State of Mind," by Archibald MacLeish, in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Autumn, 1950. For this relief much thanks. It is comforting to know that there is at least one person of audible calibre left in this country who has both the wisdom to discern and the courage to proclaim the tragic truth about our foreign policy. Best wishes.

Augustus L. Richards
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Enclosed please find check for renewal of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. I've read Mr. MacLeish's piece many times and have lent it to others. The ringing challenge of Mr. MacLeish and the forthright one of my friend Max Lerner were delights to me. More power to you and your contributors.

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The Scholar in a Time of Peril

In section I of his article, "The Scholar in a Time of Peril," Winter, 1950-51, Elmer Davis attempts to refute a cliche: An atomic war will *not* destroy civilization, he says; it will merely destroy the physical monuments of civilization. Then he restates another cliche: By *winning* an atomic war, he implies we can preserve civilization by saving the freedom of the mind. Surely Mr. Davis remembers the phrase "to make the world safe for democracy"?

I agree that buildings and other past achievements do not constitute civilization, but rather "the capacity to go on achieving." I do not agree that there is only one way to destroy civilization ("by suppressing the freedom of the mind"). There is one other very effective way—war, atomic or otherwise. I don't care to argue the question of whether wars produce leaders of the Hitler-Stalin ilk or vice versa, but it is plain that the recent two wars have already done much to destroy European civilization—in the abstract as well as the (reinforced) concrete. "There are better things than peace," says Mr. Davis. Certainly. And they are those delicate qualities of our civilization (including freedom of the mind) that are most vulnerable to destruction by modern war.

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To scholars wondering what to do in a time of peril, I should recommend *Watson* Davis' article ("The Human Factor in Our Civilization," same issue) in preference to Elmer's. Mr. W. Davis sees hope of saving civilization from war; Mr. E. Davis almost exhorts us to save it *by* war.

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The New Criticism

To "listen in" on "The New Criticism" Forum was, to me, a stimulating experience. Were others equally tantalized by the "off the record" intermissions?

So far, however, the central issue has not been faced (this is what makes discussions interesting). Much time has been spent defining the New Criticism, giving a clean bill of health to such terms as "hierarchy" and "original sin," and insisting upon the importance of toleration in a democracy. But little has been said concerning the responsibilities of the poet or the critic.

Literary criticism is not a science, but a definition of values. Since literary values are both aesthetic and moral-social, neither pedantic Alexandrianism nor narrow moralism can reveal more than half-truths. It is noteworthy that only Mr. Haydn and Mr. Davis seem aware of the dangers of the first extreme.

Any school of criticism which is devoted to the elucidation of obscurity may make a fetish of obscurity. Literary discourse may become further and further removed from the haunts of men, and less meaningful to men. The esoteric commentator will develop as his defense a contempt for the less well-educated public, and for those who serve that public. The extolling of obscurity might be the answer to Mr. Tate's question as to why allegedly reactionary critics advocate *avant garde* writers. Of course, these oracles can be consulted only by the priesthood, and one who tries to elucidate the mystery—Edmund Wilson, for instance, who has written the best short account of Joyce—is a renegade. See Stanley Hyman's denigration of Wilson in his recent survey of the New Criticism, *The Armed Vision.*

True, this contempt has been limited, for the most part, to the camp followers, but evidence is not lacking in the Forum. Note Mr. Burke's enthusiasm over the word "mystery," not to speak of his style. A "*long silence*" follows one of these flights into the esoteric; "What connection has this?" asks Mr. Cowley after another. Mr. Davis finds Burke's ideas "too heady" for even good students. Mr. Burke is a keen thinker who has contributed brilliant criticism; but if we condemn those who elucidate and evaluate such insights, we are in danger of intellectual snobbism.

Mr. Tate is eager not to be taken as "an evangelist or spokesman for all American society." Many poets of the past would not be averse to be considered spokesmen, and most would be shocked at Mr. Burke's comparison of the poet with the mechanic. But the most egregious indication of contempt for the public is the corollary, that a car owner will not appreciate the mechanic's skill—a statement, incidentally, which I believe to be demonstrably false.

Of course, we can't "expect the poor poet" to save the world (Mr. Tate's phrase) if he is but a skilled mechanic. Nor, if we have nothing but a mechanical criticism of the poet as mechanic, can we hope for critics who will discover or interpret literature to the public. This task, as Mr. Cowley says, must be left to others.

I know that Mr. Davis shares with me a high respect for the new critics personally and professionally. I do not feel so strongly as Mr. Davis the political implications of their concepts, but their helplessness in facing the cultural gap between poet and public is, to me, more immediate and more alarming.

The responsibility of criticism to nourish humane values is but one aspect of the responsibility of "the scholar in a time of peril," to recall Mr. Elmer Davis' article in the same issue.

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Of great interest to me, and, I believe, of some general interest, are Malcolm Cowley's unkind remarks about Robert Gorham Davis' review of *All the King's Men* as reported in the symposium on the New Criticism (THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Autumn, 1950).

For some months I have been turning Warren's book over in my mind, for itself and in its relation to its "reviewer," Davis, and its "critic," Heilman. In a *Sewanee Review* article Heilman takes the position that *All the King's Men* is "tragedy" and presumably therefore can have no worldly and especially no political implications. Davis' basic point is that the theme of the book is "the ethics of collaboration in a Long-like regime. The novel must be judged, then, in political as well as literary terms, for its total effect is to justify Long and the intellectuals who played ball with him, to romanticize him; to have a kind of love affair with him through the three women who adore him." To my mind these remarks by Davis remain among the best so far put forward on Warren's book, and all the more remarkably so for being contained in a review written, as reviews are, in haste.

In Warren's view it's okay to collaborate with Willie Stark (I assume no one would care to take issue with the idea that Willie Stark's regime was Long-like) for Willie was a great man, and what was wrong with Jack Burden at first was that he was uneducated. During the book, which is the story of Jack's education, he is reborn equipped with an eight-cylinder sense of Original Sin, and once you have that you know Willie was great. And Willie (Humpty-Dumpty) Stark's Fall then becomes the Fall of Man and we are all miserable sinners anyway and not only sinful but full of guilt, and all we deserve is a Willie Stark.

Of course maybe Warren is, as he says, showing in Willie the terrible disease of our age—the separation of the Man of Ideas from the Man of Action. Of maybe that's only the terrible disease of the New Critics.

Anyway, one can read *All the King's Men* as tragedy only by accepting for the duration ideas deeply antithetical to American historical, cultural and moral traditions. If Warren and his friends despair of the American experiment and want to say so in poetry or criticism, that is their right in a free country. But why should a man take a beating for writing a review which points out what goes on at the foot of the wall?

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The Democratic Limits of the Welfare State

The controversy over the "welfare state," especially with regard to medical service, assumes that the cost is a new or extra expense. Actually, the cost to the country as a whole is no greater than before—unless we increase the service. Society pays taxes to meet the doctors' bills which formerly were paid by its individual members.

What difference does it make to Mr. Average Citizen whether he pays $400 in taxes and $200 for medication or $600 in taxes with free medical service? Total cost to society will increase only if it provides care for those who cannot afford to get treatment now.

Can our social organization afford not to provide adequate medical care? Every person who is unfit loses productivity and perhaps becomes a drone to be kept alive by the rest of us. At present, our chief business is war or preparation for it. The draft furnishes the most reliable statistics of the health of the nation among the youth, who are expected to be in the best condition.

The main test is whether the draftee may become a hospital case. The rejections are a most formidable percentage—mainly persons who could have been cured by proper care. The man who does not pass the draft test is not able to be wholly efficient in private industry.

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Under Whatever Sky

IRWIN EDMAN

Self-Help in the Midst of Doom

The publishers, it is clear, are making the best of two areas of pay dirt, one of doom and one of self-improvement. H. G. Wells once said that the future was a race between education and catastrophe. The publishing lists are crowded with predictions of evil things to come and helpful little volumes that promise to mature your mind, to bring peace to your soul, to lift up your heart, to civilize your manners, to relax your tensions, to ennoble your character, to force people to love you, to persuade you to love them.

It is confusing to find in the same page an advertisement of one book that proves that the end of civilization is unavoidable, and next to it the rapturous announcement of another book that will enable you in the brief interval before universal oblivion to salvage your soul and to retrieve your body, that will bring you wealth, health, happiness—all this before the obliteration of everything.

"I stood on a whirling planet, carefully combing my hair," Conrad Aiken once wrote in the first line of a poem. Some of the prophets of doom make us feel that our situation is even more futile. We not only have fears that we may cease to be, but that the planet may cease to whirl. It is all the more surprising therefore that so many people should be concerned, even up to the extravagance of buying a book, with remodeling their characters, improving their minds, or finding peace for their psyches. It perhaps speaks well for the moral sense of the American people that in the midst of a world crisis whose resolution no one can foretell, publishers should find it profitable to republish a standard work on etiquette, or that a volume of stream-lined psychoanalysis—dianetics—should be so widely read.

Could it possibly be true that people are taking the crisis less seriously than they suppose they are taking it? Could it be that in our hearts we still believe there is an off-chance that the human race may survive and that there will still be a world? Are not all those who buy the self-help books acting on the principle of "just in case"—just in *case* civilization *should* survive, it would be both agreeable and useful to have a quiet mind, a happy heart, good manners, maturity, friends and influence? Or are the self-help books really another form of escape literature? In a world of mounting tension, it is soothing for an hour or two to curl up with a book that, though it makes no promise to save civilization, says it can render you more mature, lovable and delightful. Universal solutions for the world's ills are being more tentatively offered than they used to be. The world may be in a bad way, but there are still little books calculated to reassure the individual. When the crack of doom comes, it will strike down, in at least one instance, the reader of self-help primers, a charming, poised, serene and cultured victim. This, while gratitude is still possible, is something to be grateful for. Meanwhile, while one writer tells us "it is later than you think," it is not too late to buy a book that will help you to "live longer and look younger"—provided it is possible to live at all.

Le Temps Gelée

Sometimes one has a succession of shocking moments when one has irrefutable evidence that one is middle-aged. A spectacular instance of that discovery is to come upon some recent textbook on American history, in particular to read its last three or four chapters. It turns out that students in college are now studying as history and as an epoch what was the living environment of one's own childhood and youth.

"What," one asks, "is going on here?"

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History, clearly, ended with the Civil War, or certainly not later than the Spanish-American War. When I was a child of five or six I remember someone in our house singing a song of "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago." And what were the unhappy, far-off things? Well, this is the way the song ran:

> Spain, Spain, Spain,
> You ought to be ashame'
> For doing such a thing
> As blowing up the Maine.

I was only two years old when the Maine was blown up, and it took me a few years to get around to the news, even in song. The Civil War, history? Yes. The Spanish-American War, history? Granted.

But it is extremely confusing, not to add discouraging, to realize that the First World War is now regarded as history, something to be written down in textbooks and debated by historians. Woodrow Wilson an historical figure? A small boy in Sea Girt, New Jersey, once shook hands with the then Governor Woodrow Wilson. It was I. No living person ever shook hands with Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar or Napoleon. History ought to have the decency to wait until one is dead, and the days of one's youth ought not to become the palimpsests and papyri of one's juniors while one is still alive.

The historians are becoming indecently hasty. "Let the dead bury its dead" is all right, but there is no injunction for historians to bury the living memories of the middle-aged. Who could believe that World War II has found its way into the history books? In the constantly losing warfare of a teacher to make things sound timely and apposite, one mentions to a group of freshmen Pearl Harbor, D-Day, V-J Day, and they look as if old Nestor were telling them epic events of the incredibly remote past.

There are certain compensations, however. "And did you once see Shelley plain?" Not Shelley, children, but Bernard Shaw, Woodrow Wilson, Bergson, Havelock Ellis, Edwin Arlington Robinson.

I once heard Nicholas Murray Butler, who had been reminiscing about eminent historical figures he had known, (Bismark for one) remark, "You can't get history out of the textbooks; you've got to know the people," or at least know those who knew them. There is some satisfaction in having one's own memories, perhaps, serve as a footnote, and to substitute for a sense of being alive a sense of having part of one's life already become, however minutely, a part of history. Did not Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam tell us ". . . Tomorrow I may be /Myself with Yesterday's Sev'n thousand Years"?

Wars—and How to Live Through Them

I came across an essay the other day, or rather that hybrid literary genre known as an article, in which a veteran war correspondent was writing what was, in effect, a brief handbook for civilians in the next and, as the article implied, inevitable war. There were a few simple rules which, though they might not stop the war, might make one feel better. One was that one should not be afraid, and another was that one should not be too distressed, and a third one was that one should not expect the worst. There were still other delightful suggestions—for example, "One should go on with one's normal activities." Mr. Leland Stowe, the author of this guidebook on how to behave in the midst of slaughter, tells us that some of the best parties he ever attended were given in Madrid while bombs were falling.

There was a series of rules issued by the State Department last summer on what to do if and when an atom bomb falls. There were about eight rules, seven or eight of which one would undoubtedly not have time to collect one's thoughts about in the minute or so provided before annihilation. It is very reassuring, therefore, to be told by Mr. Stowe that it is all very simple. All that is necessary is to go on living precisely as if there weren't a war going on.

There are, clearly, little difficulties that he glosses over. There were a great many people during the last war who would have been quite content, for example, to go on smoking a pack of cigarettes a day,

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if they could have found them; quite content not to be afraid of anything (even when the earth under them trembled) especially not the end of civilization. Hegel is said to have gone on writing his elaborate abstractions, his "ballet of bloodless categories," while the Battle of Jena was going on virtually at his doorstep. At the end of three days he is said to have called somewhat irritably to his servant and asked, "What is all that noise going on?"

The ostrich used to be criticized for doing what he usually does, burying his head in the sand. But it is now clear that the ostrich, not the owl, is the true symbol of wisdom. The ostrich is going on with its standard procedure of burying its head in the sand. That makes all the rest easy. There is nothing to see and therefore nothing to fear; there is nothing to be distressed about. Presumably, with one's head buried in the sand, one would not even *hear* a battle. There are born city-dwellers who are wonderfully impervious to noise; well, given a few more years of crisis, one can learn to be impervious even to the sounds of doom. Apparently it needs a good first-class war to bring true peace of mind. In an age where gentleness has vanished, it is possible still to be a gentleman.

Scene behind the Scene

A popular novel was published the other day (in the British use of "the other day," meaning anywhere from the other day to ten years ago) in which the author, a woman, in a preface, took the reader into her confidence. She explained the various places in which, the various circumstances under which, the various distractions and hardships through which she had produced this marketable masterpiece. It was, as one reviewer remarked, as if a hostess should just before dinner recite all the troubles she had had preparing it. Other authors, Henry James (if it is not too disrespectful to mention that master in this connection) for one, have been like cooks sharing their recipes.

One looks back somewhat wistfully to the days when one could pick up a novel, at least, without having a prefatory natural history, a foreword of explanation and apology, a note of exposition of what the author intended and what the author directs the reader to find. The trend in works other than fiction has been similar. We are not left to begin a treatise on culture patterns or isotopes without a narration of how the author happened to get interested in the subject—he was inspired, perhaps, by a great humane genius of a teacher who unfortunately for the world had developed writer's cramp in early youth and had therefore to confine the spread of his wisdom to those in his small classes in the remote college village in the Southern Appalachians where the author, by luck, had studied under him in a course in freshman English. Or perhaps the writer, a corporation lawyer, had come to spend all his leisure hours in the study of bees or the literature of bees, his initial impulse having come from the sting of a bee which, when the pain subsided, had prompted him to that "emotion recollected in tranquillity" which does not always become poetry, but sometimes pedantry. Or, again, the writer may be one of those indefatigable Encyclopedists-on-the-run who every year or two write a book on the inside of a country, a continent, or a cosmos. The reader is invited first to peruse the immense travels and travails of the author; even the labors of his staff are sometimes mentioned. Even a new dictionary may parade in advance not simply the quality but the quantity of contributors, and the apparatus of cross-indices and filing cards, which has gone into the preparation of this paragon of portmanteau knowledge.

Often in the glossy pages of the general magazines one finds advertisements of bottles of soft drinks embedded in flowers, or Chippendale television sets which are clearly the preconditions of "gracious living." There was a time when "gracious living" had as one of its conditions the concealing from guests of the trouble and care that had gone into the provision of food and entertainment. It was considered the duty of the host not to mention family troubles or private distress. There was a time when one read a book for itself and not to share

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the labors and endurances of the author. "I wrote this sonnet in fifteen minutes," remarks Molière's Monsieur Jourdain. The reply made to him is, "Monsieur, time doesn't count in these matters." "It took me four hard years of the most arduous research to write this book," we are assured by the writer of some *soi-disant* historical novel. "This book was begun on a safari in Africa and ended during a weekend visit in Long Island." It is possibly delightful to learn that masterpieces do not spring from the heads of literary Joves, but it is agreeable once in a while to eat a dinner without being informed first that the cook has produced it at the cost of bankruptcy and complete exhaustion. It would be pleasant to read an effortless flowing novel without being obliged to feel sorry for the author's effortful contrivance. Oddly enough, the books that an author tells us were a great trouble to write are sometimes, by a macabre coincidence, equally difficult to read. Homer manages to start his story without telling us of the warfare in his own breast; he had a war to tell about, and he lost no time in getting to it.

Forever Young

When the Guggenheim Foundation began awarding fellowships twenty-five years ago, they gave them to promising young men. There has been of late a change of policy, which change can be most dramatically realized when we find that the oldest recipient of a fellowship last year was a botanist seventy-six years of age. Two philosophers in their forties were granted awards, and there was a scattering of scholars and writers in their fifties and sixties. We have heard able people cogently deplore this granting of fellowships for scholarly and creative work to the middle-aged and the elderly. They say not only that youth should be given a chance, but they cite arguments to show that creativeness always ends, at the latest, in the early thirties—sometimes by death, as with Byron or Mozart.

Well, the new Guggenheim line will bring comfort to a great many of us whose opinions on these matters change a little as we grow older. Good old Guggenheims, remembering that middle age, too, has its talents, and that there are creative outbursts in old age! Someone must have reminded the Guggenheims that Verdi wrote *Falstaff* (which some think his greatest masterpiece) when he was eighty. Matthew Arnold did not really get going as a poet until late middle age. Alfred North Whitehead began his real career as a philosopher when he was sixty-five. Robert Frost as a poet does more than all right at seventy-five. And who ever thought the middle-aged and the old did not need freedom to work as much or more than the young? The young are often not yet embroiled in families or professions. They do not need a chance to get a second wind. The Guggenheims have a fine fresh notion: Age will be served. And heaven knows what may come of it! Older Guggenheim fellows have a particular responsibility to do well. They owe it to their senescing contemporaries who are waiting to apply next year. John Dewey, still an active thinker at ninety-one, is my candidate. A fellowship would be a great encouragement to him, and to a great many other people, too.

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Security and the Search for Truth

SECURITY, LOYALTY AND SCIENCE. By Walter Gellhorn. *Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 300 pp. $3.00.*

THE YEAR OF THE OATH. By George R. Stewart. *Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co. 156 pp. $2.00.*

By LAURENCE SEARS

These two books are concerned with the crucial question as to how the conflicting claims of national security and the extension of knowledge can be reconciled, and how at a time of widespread fear an atmosphere conducive to academic freedom can be maintained.

The theme of Professor Gellhorn centers around the role of the scientist in a society threatened from without and within. Is it possible to disseminate the knowledge that will lead to more knowledge, while at the same time giving respect to necessary military considerations? He does not question that some secrecy is necessary, or that the detection of any scientist who may be a traitor is essential. The problem arises from the fact that in the name of security the United States has restricted the interchange of ideas between scientists.

Basic to his argument is a distinction between two kinds of secrets. On the one hand are the discoveries as to the nature of the universe formulated in terms of principles; on the other hand are the technical discoveries related to industrial and manufacturing processes. The principles of the electric generator are well known, but this is a far cry from being able to manufacture a 50,000 kilowatt generator. This latter knowledge can and should be restricted as fully as possible. But to attempt to limit the communication of discoveries in the realm of scientific principles is to weaken seriously the entire progress of knowledge on which security of all kinds depends.

He insists that strength lies only in a dynamic rather than a static utilization of resources. Security never can be had behind some intellectual Maginot line. He quotes General Donovan as saying, "You can have an organization that is so secure it does nothing," and points to the experience of Germany under Hitler in proof of its truth. For among the causes of the decline of German science was a growing tendency to carry on their researches in an atmosphere of secrecy.

But Germany might teach another lesson; as Mr. Justice Jackson said: "The Nurnberg evidence is that the seeds of eventual annihilation for Hitler's power were sown when he began burning books, exiling scholars, persecuting scientists and closing down on information." This aspect of the problem, the practical application of security regulations, concerns the author as much as the former issue. He cites case after case where loyality investigations have been administered with scant concern for the rights of the individuals involved, and not infrequently where a scientist's entire career is jeopardized merely because he may at one time have held unpopular social views, views not in the least related to communism. The danger is not only that the authoritarian spirit will be encouraged and intellectual adventurousness suppressed; even

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✪ LAURENCE SEARS, professor of American philosophy and political theory at Mills College, has for the past two years been part-time visiting professor at the University of California. Professor Sears is the author of *Responsibility* (1932) and co-author, with Walter Muelder, of *The Development of American Philosophy* (1941). One of his articles appeared in the Autumn, 1949, number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

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—Joseph Frank, *Partisan Review.*
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more immediate is the natural unwillingness of scientists to enter government service when their entire future may be unjustly wrecked, and that at a time when they are desperately needed.

Any bare outline of Professor Gellhorn's argument fails to do justice to the frightening implication of our present proceedures as they reduce our slender margin of security, and also to the moving quality of his own convictions as to the meaning of democracy and its significance in the world today. For him, democracy means that governmental policy should be shaped by men who are free "to inquire, to compare, to experiment, to debate, and to complain." Our individuality and intellectual diversity have not been flaws in the nation's structure; they have been its strength. "For Safety does not lie in Secrecy. It lies in the purposeful utilization, stimulation, and encouragement of the nation's intellectual resources."

Professor Stewart and his collaborators tell the story of the now famous loyalty oath controversy at the University of California. It started in the spring of 1949 when the Regents made obligatory a non-Communist oath. Month by month, it was fought out as the faculty sought one compromise after another. After the apparent encouragement of the Regent who had most vociferously demanded an oath, the Faculties by a vote of 1,154 to 136 accepted the Regents' anti-Communist policy, and by a vote of 1,025 to 268 adopted the statement that "proved members of the Communist party, by reason of such commitments to that party, are not acceptable as members of the faculty." When that failed to appease the intransigent majority of the regents, the Alumni stepped in with a proposal that non-signers . . . may petition through the President for a hearing by the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, after which the Regents will consider the findings and recommendations of the Committee and the President before making a decision." This was accepted by the Regents in April. The Committee, having made exhaustive examinations of each person involved,

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unanimously recommended the retention of all but five. It passed no judgment on those five, since they had not cooperated. Then came what Professor John D. Hicks called the "complete double cross of the faculty by the Regents." For in spite of the recommendations of both the Committee and the President, all the non-signers were fired by a vote of twelve to ten.

Surely, here is a book all members of the academic world will need to read. There is not only a summary of the issues involved and the various reasons why the oath was fought; there is also a vivid description of the serious results already apparent in this once great university. And, finally, for those who feel that this can never happen to them, there are the chapters, "You Too Can Have a Loyalty Oath" and "This Is the Way It Begins."

Unfortunately, the story stops with the meeting of July 21. It was not until August that the controversy came to its climax, when a majority of the Regents explicitly stated that no charge of communism was involved, and then went on to make the dismissal of thirty-one non-signers final. The basis now had shifted from communism to recalcitrance and discipline. "Do I understand," Governor Warren asked, "that we are firing these people merely because they are recalcitrant?" "It is not a question of communism," said one of the majority, "but of discipline."

So it wasn't communism, after all. But can we believe that a group of responsible regents could dismiss members of the faculty—some of whom had served the University for forty years—merely because their convictions did not permit them to bow to their legal employers? Much more is involved than this. One must recognize the same atmosphere of fear as that with which Professor Gellhorn was dealing; it is this which enabled a group of the Regents to establish that kind of control over the faculty by which in the future those in authority can censor any politically unpopular view. "This is the way it begins" echoed scores of Europeans on the faculty who had seen the rise of totalitarian regimes.

The books of Professors Gellhorn and Stewart supplement each other as they describe what is happening to us, and their reports are as brilliant as they are frightening. They write for those who still believe that in our freedoms lies our strength. Only time will tell whether or not there are enough left who hold that faith to change the present picture.

American Stereotypes

THE LONELY CROWD, A Study of the Changing American Character. By David Riesman, in collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer. *New Haven: Yale University Press. xiv & 386 pp. $4.00.*

By MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

Mr. Riesman is a deeply troubled man. He looks on the uncertainties in American life and finds there much that produces bewildered people, beset with a leisure that they do not know how to consume. In seeking his answers as to why this has happened, he turns to an analysis of American character, in the sense, he says, of "'social character'—the patterned uniformities of learned response that distinguish men of different regions, eras, and groups."

This is the approach of what has come to be called "national character" studies. And because the works of most of the students who do studies of this kind show a consistent method and point of view, it is essential, if we are to evaluate this book, that the pattern in which it has been cast be understood.

The contemporary "national character" attack is based on some scheme of classification, polar if not dichotomous. This

✪ MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS is chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University. His research is in African and Afro-American studies, but he has also written widely in the field of anthropological theory and method. Professor Herskovits' latest book is a general study of culture entitled *Man and His Works.*

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scheme is characteristically couched in terms of stereotypes, "'ideal' types (in Max Weber's sense)" to quote Mr. Riesman's phrasing, that rarely take into account the factor of variation. The range of personalities in a given society, suppressed in the polar classification of form, gives a specious simplicity to a very complex phenomenon. Despite this simplistic approach, however, the presentation yields a sense of profundity through the use of a specially coined terminology. Furthermore, though the framework is actually rigid, a semblance of flexibility is given by a generous use of *caveats* and reservations, which tend to be lost sight of as the underlying idea is stated and restated, over and over. In brief, these "national character" studies, though they do not pay much attention to the questions, leave no doubt but that they know the answers.

Mr. Riesman's training has been in the law. This is perhaps why he has found congenial the approach he has taken to the problem of his concern. For most studies of "national character" like his, are deductive; their documentation, like his, is *ad hoc;* they use the debater's technique of argumentation rather than the scholar's testing of a working hypothesis. Mr. Riesman is quite clear about his method: "This book was written," he says in his Preface, "in the course of researches into specific problems of American character and politics. But these researches contributed very little to the building, let alone the testing, of the model. Indeed, quite the other way around: the model put forward here . . . was used and is now being used to orient our speculations, to guide our research, and to pose questions for further investigation." It is quite true that scientific research must be guided by hypotheses. Yet a scientist does not publish his "hunch" at length, with his assumptions (to take one at random, from page forty)—such as ". . . societies in the phase of high growth potential are characterized by a very low degree of social mobility"—presented as though they were proved statements of fact.

This book is thus far more in the spirit

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of the legal brief than of the scientist's report or the analysis of the well-disciplined humanist. The impact of the documentation is impressive. For the attorney's brief, if it is good—and this is a good attorney's brief—must be documented impressively in making its points. But the law, which defines and judges, is not in the spirit of science and the humanistic disciplines, which analyze and question. And Mr. Riesman, the method of the law well in hand, adds to this the zeal of the social crusader. That is why, whatever the words he sets down may say of objectivity and tentativeness, his book remains a work of persuasion, and not of investigation.

Let us turn briefly to the "model" he has devised. He goes, first of all, to the demographers for aid in classifying peoples, placing them at three points on a particular form of population growth-curve which he feels is significant for his purpose—the S-shaped curve. The classes of societies he thus derives are those of "high-growth potential," or stable groups, those in the phase of "transitional growth," and those in the phase of "incipient population decline." The first, he postulates, produces "tradition-directed" people, the second "inner-directed" individuals, the last those who are "other-directed." A "tradition-directed" society is composed of individuals bound by the ways of their group, the kind called "primitive." The "inner-directed" society is Puritan-like, where values and goals are clear-cut, and there are well-defined directives to guide conduct. The "other-directed" society is one in which each person looks to what those of his own group, the "peer-group," do; "sincerity" is defined as conformity, so that guides to conduct are continually shifting with the fashions of his peers.

These are the stereotypes, the analysis of which would require far more space than is here available. Suffice it to say that "tradition-directed" character is depicted in a manner reminiscent of the nineteenth-century idea, long discarded by anthropologists, of "primitives" as living in a kind of cultural strait-jacket; while the other two types are so confusedly presented that it is impossible to discover whether they are held by the author to be historical or contemporary, or if they are to be differentiated by the varying sanctions of different generations in the present population of this country. One might comment, too, on the curious use of English words that mark this, like so much of contemporary social science writing—"other" as the opposite of "inner," or "indignants" for "indignant people," or "enforced privatization," with a highly special meaning, or "an ethnic" for a member of a minority group in our population.

Finally, one might consider some of the deficiencies in logic that mark the development of the argument: the failure to differentiate between the compulsion to attain the regard of one's fellows in a "tradition-directed" society and in an "other-directed" group. This lapse derives from a failure to recognize that culture is manifest only in behavior, and that in every group values and goals as sensed by each member arise out of a common enculturative experience, conformity thus being a requisite for membership.

The problem considered by Mr. Riesman is real enough. Long before the scientific method was devised, philosophers speculated why one people differed from another, and travelers recorded observations on the point that were often acute. There is every reason why thinkers today should speculate on the problem in terms of "a constant dialectic between the urge to simplify and the urge to take account of everything," or that scientists should attack the baffling and difficult question of why there are distinctive modes of behavior found even in contiguous societies. But the dialectic described is not the method of science, for science has methods for resolving the apparent dichotomy between unities and dispersions. It is a pity that Mr. Riesman felt it necessary to give his speculations the trappings of science, and to present them as a full-length monograph in social science. For as a speculative essay they would have made a thought-provoking contribution.

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POETS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. Edited by W. H. Auden and Norman Holmes Pearson. Five volumes. Vol. I: Langland to Spenser; with emendations of texts, and glosses by E. Talbot Donaldson: *xlv + 619 pp.;* Vol. II: Marlowe to Marvell: *xlv + 556 pp.;* Vol. III: Milton to Goldsmith: *xliv + 622 pp.;* Vol. IV: Blake to Poe: *xxxviii + 535 pp.;* Vol. V: Tennyson to Yeats: *xlvii + 624 pp. New York: The Viking Press. 1950. $12.50 for the set. $2.50 per volume.*

By DUDLEY FITTS

The Viking Portables are generally superior, but surely this excellent anthology is something more than superior: not only is it the most impressive item in the series to date; it is also what Horace Gregory calls it, "The best comprehensive collection of its kind in existence." Indeed, it is difficult to see how the selection, especially in the first three volumes, could be better. The war horses are all here; they had to be, of course, if the collection was to serve its practical academic purpose. But the war horses are surrounded by other, less familiar beasts, chosen not out of caprice—not, as so often happens in anthologies, out of a desire to be original and strange—but genuinely out of a wide and scholarly range of reference. Thus, one can feel the homely reassurance that the printed bulk of "The Deserted Village" always gives one (how long has it been since anyone has really *read* the thing?) and then turn back a few pages to poetry, to Kit Smart eternally and miraculously celebrating his cat Jeoffry in "Jubilate Agno." Oh that this had been possible in one's own school days! And if the last two volumes seem somehow less secure, and here and there raise serious doubts, this is as it it should be: the canons of modern poetry, where they exist at all, are less certain, and bias plays an inevitable part.

But if it is the ample and humane selection which will appeal to the general reader, it is the scholarly integrity of the texts which will chiefly attract the teacher. Few anthologies, even among those intended expressly for the classroom, are as dependable as this. The *Oxford Books* of Q and Yeats are notorious examples of the general anthological tendency to revise, to edit. The ordinary texts available for the study of Donne, for example, are utterly untrustworthy as a result of modernization of spelling and pointing, of silent emendation. To take a trivial example from the opening of "The Relique": *When my grave is broke up againe / Some second ghest to entertaine* loses an ambiguity of triple richness if "ghest" be altered to "guest", as it almost always is. Not that the hiccoughs and the wild fumblings of the Elizabethan compositors deserve preservation *per se;* but there is always the danger that in modernizing a text you will enfeeble it. Accordingly, the editors' procedure here has been to stay as close as possible to the best contemporary version of the poem. This means Langland, Chaucer, Gower, much as their original audiences knew them: not such formidable matter, after all, and with Mr. Donaldson's "glosses" to hearten the timorous. It also means *Antony and Cleopatra* according to the Second Folio; and the Metaphysicals as they looked then, and as they always should look. In short, we are given here a text that can be relied on.

Of the five volumes, the second, *Marlowe to Marvell,* strikes me as being unexceptionable. This book alone would justify the whole project. *Milton to Goldsmith,* with "Samson Agonistes" entire, and with, as I have indicated, an unusually generous sampling of Smart, might have included more of the enchantingly downright hymns of the Puritans and other dissenters. But again, we are given more than we should find in any comparable collection; and the selection would be memorable if only for Charles Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob" with its somewhat alarming program:

✪ Poet and critic, and instructor in English at Phillips Academy, DUDLEY FITTS is the translator, with Robert Fitzgerald, of the *Oedipus Rex* and *Antigonê* of Sophokles, and the *Alkestis* of Euripides. He is also the editor of *Antología de la poesía americana contemporánea,* and is a corresponding member of the Ateneo Nacional de Washington and the Casa de Cultura Ecuatoriana (Ecuador).

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With Thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.

The last volume, *Tennyson to Yeats*, suffers in the first half from the general limpness of the available material, and toward the close from the editors' arbitrary decision: no poet born later than 1870, no poem printed after 1914. Even so, they could have been fairer to Yeats, who emerges here as a figure scarcely superior to Poe.

The general introductions, largely the work of Mr. Auden, are genially erudite, and provocative in Mr. Auden's special manner. Occasionally the manner goes cute, and what should have been provocative merely provokes. Thus, it is clever enough to illustrate the scansion of a line of St. Thomas Aquinas by citing

Lonely in the Regent Palace, sipping a banana blush,

but the cleverness jars, somehow, and enforces the niggling retort that in the analysis of a verse from the *Pervigilium*, four lines above, Olympus has perpetrated a false quantity that a schoolboy would shudder at. An ignoble criticism; but it was equally naughty of Mr. Auden to invite it.

Mr. Gregory's estimate stands. *Poets of the English Language* is that *liber vere aureus*, the definitive and creative anthology.

A Monument to Americans

THE INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN. By Erwin O. Christensen. Introduction by Holger Cahill. *New York: The Macmillan Company. 229 pp. 378 Illustrations (113 in Color). $15.00.*

By GEORGE BIDDLE

Much ink has been spilt over the relative merits and shortcomings of the Section of Painting and Sculpture under the Treasury, later the Public Buildings Administration, and the Federal Art Projects of the Works Progress Administration. Yet the difference in the organizational set-up and purpose of each is seldom clearly appreciated. The former, under the brilliant leadership of Edward Bruce, was part of a spending and building program. Under it were created as fine and mature mural paintings as can be found anywhere in America. It is a tragic lack of appreciation of contemporary American art that they have never been adequately presented in book form to the public. The Art Project of the W.P.A. was administered with the same superlative ability by Holger Cahill, a scholar, a critic and a shrewd politician, guided by a passionate belief in American art and a love of its folklore. The Art Project was a relief program; but Harry Hopkins believed, and Cahill believed under him, that every relief artist in America could be effectively employed to make our life more gracious and civilized. Hopkins believed, and Cahill believed, that it was not just the Michelangelos who created the fifteenth century, but rather the culture of the fifteenth century that made possible the Michelangelos.

Along with its many useful accomplishments, the Art Project has given us one great and lasting monument, *The Index of American Design*, a collection of some 20,000 faithfully executed watercolors and drawings of colonial and nineteenth-century craft. Here for the first time is presented to the public a rare and beautiful selection of some four hundred plates from the whole *Index* collection. "Not only are furniture, silver, glass, ceramics and textiles included, but also tavern signs, figureheads, cigar-store Indians, carrousel horses, toys, pots and pans, and many other items." There is a section for such transplanted groups as the Pennsylvania Dutch, the Shakers, and the Spanish in the Southwest. Other sections are devoted to objects associated with life at home, on the frontier, shipping, and business of the towns. At the end of the book there is an historic arrangement of subject matter ("The Years Pass"). Also included are the names of the artists, men and women on relief, who make these beautiful renderings.

Holger Cahill in the Introduction traces

✪ Through a correspondence with the late President Roosevelt in the spring of 1934, GEORGE BIDDLE was instrumental in initiating the Federal Arts Projects. Recently, he was appointed by President Truman as painter member of the Commission of Fine Arts.

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the germination of the *Index* from the New York Library's recognition of the need of a comprehensive source record of American design to its final organization in 1935 as a nationwide activity, employing over three hundred artists scattered among thirty-five states. He analyzes the techniques, scholarship, basic training and regional skills, as well as the frustrations and headaches, which contributed to this great collaborative enterprise.

Erwin O. Christensen, whose graceful and sympathetic style conceals his learning, has written short introductions to the five main sections, as well as to the nineteen subdivisions. His running comments accompany the reproductions. They sketch a brief social history of our nation up to the mass-production age: in terms of its crafts, tools, wearing apparel, toys, gadgets, furniture, and patriotic and religious symbols. This is an unique book. The historian, antiquarian, artist, householder and growing child—each should own a copy.

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Brief Comments

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Julian P. Boyd, Editor, Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan, Associate Editors. Vol. I: 1760-76; II: 1776-79. *Princeton. $10 per volume.*

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, estimated to run to at least fifty volumes, will contain 18,000 letters written by Jefferson and some 25,000 written to him, as well as essays, drafts and state papers. Beautifully printed, thoroughly annotated and footnoted, the collection, when completed, may well be the most monumental achievement of American historical scholarship.

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY. The Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. *2 Vols. Bobbs-Merrill. $12.*

These two large volumes, well illustrated and expertly edited, gather into one coherent work of narration and exposition more than four hundred and fifty selections by as many participants in the Civil War. Every walk of life is represented, and nearly every type of mind and experience finds voice. The work, one of unfaltering interest, lacks of course the analytical values of a general history, but it admirably sets forth the multitudinous and drastic impacts of the war upon the American people, North and South, high and low, plodding and heroic.

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